Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)
attachment file.

Det. Dawson was assigned to relieve Officer Munyan at 4:00 pm; he informed me that at approximately 8:00 pm, Epstein had left for the airport and his private jet was sitting on the tarmac. Epstein's private vehicle drove to the jet and unloaded packages into the jet. It appeared that Epstein left the county at this time. Surveillance will continue to determine when Epstein will return.

Inv Continues.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 3 ****************************

NA Reported By: PARKINSON, GREGORY A. 9/23/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 9/23/05

On Friday, September 23, 2005 at approximately 1:45 p.m., I began to copy a tape micro cassette, under case number 05-368 and property number 05-243, tape number 1. I placed the tape in the telex copy-et, series 2 machine and began to go through the copying process. Approximately 1/2 through the tape, the tape wrapped around the spindle and became locked and stretched the tape. I examined it and determined that it was in the best interest to leave it as it is as a prior copy had been made and turned over to Sergeant Frick. I immediately took the tape to Sergeant Frick and allowed him to examine it and then obtained the copy from him and Detective Recarey and brought the copy of the tape down and made a copy for him based on that. The tape was placed back in the original container and is retained in the evidence bag under the previously mentioned property number of 05-243. It is not advisable to attempt to copy this tape as further damage could result to the recorded material and there is an existing copy anyway.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 4 ****************************

NA Reported By: PARKINSON, GREGORY A. 9/26/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 9/26/05

On 3-24-05 at 11:00 pm, a copy of tape 2 (case number 05-294) had been made for Det. Pagan by Evidence Specialist Annette Badger. The copy was turned over to Detective Recarey.

On Friday, 09-23-05 at approimately 2:15 pm, I was in the process of reproducing audio tapes (micro and standard) to standard size when it was discovered, in the test review process, that tape number 2 was blank. I notified Sgt. Frick and Det. Recarey. I was informed that they had a prior copy and I could use it to make a master tape. I did so and when reviewing and signing the evidence sheet, I noticed Evidence Specialist Badger had written "#2 is blank."

I obtained that copy from Det. Recarey and made a new copy on a standard size tape. The new copy was placed in the evidence bag under

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)
property number 05-294 with the blank tape.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 5 ****************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 9/26/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 9/28/05

Copies of the tapes that were submitted into evidence were requested. Additionally, trash pulls were started on September 21, 2005. Sgt. Szarszewski made telephone contact with Tony Higgins, Supervisor of the Sanitation Department, and requested that trash be collected at the Epstein House located at 358 El Brillo in Palm Beach. Sgt Szarszewski met with Sanitation worker, Jeff Williams and observed him enter the property at 358 El Brillo. Shortly thereafter, Williams exited the property and placed the three white trash bags in the empty well in the rear of the truck. Williams then drove away where he met with Sgt. Szarszewski who removed the bags from the well and placed them into one large black trash bag. The bag was returned to the Police Station where I was waiting for him. Upon his arrival, we inspected the bags where several notes and papers were found. These notes contained names of girls with times. Additionally, there was a note from [redacted] to Jeffrey Epstein on a notepad, which stated,"For a good time call [redacted]" Also, there was another telephone number on the note [redacted] Also found was a written note, which stated, [redacted] can not come at 7 p.m. tomorrow because of soccer. These items were written on notepads that contain Jeffrey Epstein on the bottom of the notes. These items were placed into evidence for future follow up. I requested subpoenas for subscriber information on the telephone numbers listed above on the note from [redacted] The cellular telephones [redacted] and [redacted] are both assigned to Cingular Cellular Service. Other notes were found within the trash on Jeffrey Epstein pad, papers that contained telephone numbers. One note had [redacted] with [redacted] written on it. This cellular number is assigned to Cingular Cellular Service. Another sheet had written [redacted] which is assigned to Bell South Telecommunications. The subpoenas were picked up and submitted to Cingular and Bell South Telecommunication for subscriber information.

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On September 22, 2005, I was informed by Sgt. Szarszewski that there would be no trash pick up as it was recycle pick up day. A request for copies of the micro and standard size cassettes were requested from crime scene to familiarize myself with the interviews conducted.

On September 23, 2005, the tapes were received and I began to become familiar with the interviews that were conducted. Det. Krauel had met with Town of Palm Beach Sanitation worker, Jeff Williams and observed him enter the property of 358 El Brillo. Shortly thereafter, Williams exited the property and placed the three white trash bags in the empty well in the rear of the truck. Williams then drove away where he met with Det. Krauel who removed the bags from the well and placed them into one large black trash bag. The bag was returned to the Police Station where I was waiting for him. Upon his arrival, we inspected

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the bags where several notes and papers were found. The notes will be inspected for future use. The items collected were placed into evidence.

It became evident that some of the recordings were recorded with background noise and some interference. The calls most affected were the control phone calls from the victim to the suspect [redacted]. I obtained the graphic equalizer and discovered that the calls are able to be legible with the use of the equalizer by lowering the background noise and increasing voice gain. I also learned that a tape was broken during the coping of the tape. I returned the copy of the tape marked Property Number 05-243 to have it recopied to have an original in evidence and a working copy with the file.

Upon researching the file, it was discovered that the suspect, [redacted] cellular calls were subpoenaed incorrectly. The suspect telephone number was [redacted] and the original request was for [redacted] I requested the information through Cingular Cellular Service from February 2005 through the present. The purpose was to have a record of [redacted]making calls to victim, Jeffrey Epstein and the frequency of calls. The request was submitted to the State Attorney's Office.

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Investigation Continues....

**************************** NARRATIVE # 6 ***************************

NA Reported By: KRAUEL, CURTIS D. 10/06/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 10/06/05

On or about September 23, 2005 at approximately 0915 hours, I responded to 358 El Brillo and met with PB Sanitation worker Jeff Williams. Williams had been previously notified to assist in trash pulls at the residence of Jeffrey Epstein, 358 El Brillo, Palm Beach, Florida. I observed Williams enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo and remove several plastic bags of trash and place the contents into the back of an empty sanitation truck.

I then followed Williams to a predetermined location and seized the trash from the truck. The trash was transported to the Palm Beach Police Department where I began sifting through its contents. There was a total of 4 white in color plastic bags and each contained documentation and correspondence for 358 El Brillo and Jeffrey Epstein. All documents of evidentiary value were removed and turned over to Det. Recarey for follow-up.

On or about September 26, 2005 at approximately 0900 hours, I responded to 358 El Brillo and met with PB Sanitation worker Jessie Jones. Jones had been previously notified to assist in trash pulls at the residence of Jeffrey Epstein, 358 El Brillo, Palm Beach, Florida. I observed Jones enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo, where no trash was located within the receptacles. I left the area without incident

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and notified Det. Recarey to that affect.

On or about September 27, 2005 at approximately 0915 hours, I responded to 358 El Brillo and met with PB Sanitation worker Jesse Jones. I observed Jones enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo and remove one plastic bag of trash and place it in the back of an empty sanitation truck.

I then followed Jones to a predetermined location and seized the trash from the truck. The trash was transported to the Palm Beach Police Department where I began sifting through its contents. There was a total of 1 white in color plastic bag which contained correspondence for 358 El Brillo. All documents of evidentiary value were removed and turned over to Det. Recarey for follow-up.

On or about Monday October 3, 2005 at approximately 0915 hours, I responded to 358 El Brillo and met with PB Sanitation worker Jeff Williams. I observed Williams enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo and remove several plastic bags of trash and place the contents into the back of an empty sanitation truck.

I then followed Williams to a predetermined location and seized the trash from the truck. The trash was transported to the Palm Beach Police Department where I began sifting through its contents. There was a total of 7 white in color plastic bags with a red tie and 1 black in color bag which contained 2 white in color plastic bags with a red tie. Each of the bags contained documentation and correspondence for 358 El Brillo and Jeffrey Epstein. Inside of one of the white in color bags, I located a broken piece of a hard plastic or clear acrylic stick, which was shaped with small ridges. This device is commonly used as a sexual toy which is inserted into the vagina or anus for stimulation. This item, along with all documents of evidentiary value were removed and turned over to Det. Recarey for follow-up.

On or about Tuesday October 4, 2005 at approximately 0928 hours, I responded to 358 El Brillo and met with PB Sanitation worker Jeff Williams. I observed Williams enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo and remove several plastic bags of trash and place the contents into the side well of the sanitation truck. This side of the truck is separate from the rear of the truck and does not come into contact with other trash.

I then followed Williams to a predetermined location and seized the trash from the truck. The trash was transported to the Palm Beach Police Department where I began sifting through its contents. There was a total of 2 white in color plastic bags which were tied at the top. Each of the bags contained documentation and correspondence for 358 El Brillo and Jeffrey Epstein. All documents of evidentiary value were removed and turned over to Det. Recarey for follow-up.

On or about Wednesday October 5, 2005 at approximately 0928 hours, I

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responded to 358 El Brillo and met with PB Sanitation worker Jeff Williams. I observed Williams enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo and remove several plastic bags of trash and place the contents into the bed of the sanitation truck.

I then followed Williams to a predetermined location and seized the trash from the truck. The trash was transported to the Palm Beach Police Department where I began sifting through its contents, with the assistance of Det. Recarey. There were a total of 2 bags, one of which was white in color and tied in a knot at the top, and the other was a black in color bag, which contained two white in color trash bags along with loose debris. Each of the bags contained documentation and correspondence for 358 El Brillo and Jeffrey Epstein. All documents of evidentiary value were removed and turned over to Det. Recarey for follow-up.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 7 ****************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 10/07/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 10/07/05

I met with Det. Krauel and requested further assistance to maintain trash collections at Epstein's residence at 358 El Brillo Road. On October 3, 2005, at approximately 10:30 am, I was contacted by Sgt. Frick to respond to the Palm Beach Police Station. Det. Krauel had observed Jeff Epstein riding his bicycle on South County Road. Upon my arrival, I met with Sgt Frick who advised, as Epstein was currently in Town; we interview [redacted] as to her involvement with Epstein and the girls that are brought to his house. As we were to interview [redacted] in the county, (outside of our jurisdiction), I contacted the State Attorney s Office Investigation Division, and made contact with Assistant Supervisor Investigator Carlos Ortiz. I requested assistance to interview [redacted] as the interview may occur in the county. Supervisor Ortiz assigned Investigator Mike Waites to assist us at the location and interview of [redacted].

Det. Dicks had responded to the address of [redacted] and viewed her vehicle parked in the driveway. [redacted]'s vehicle a red Plymouth Neon baring Florida Tag of [redacted] was parked in the driveway of [redacted] [redacted]. Sgt Frick and I responded to 120th Ave and awaited the arrival of Investigator Mike Waites. Upon his arrival, he was briefed that should she wish to be interviewed within her home he would be needed. However, should [redacted] agree to return to the police station for further questioning, he would not be needed. Sgt. Frick and I knocked on the door and met with [redacted]. [redacted] was told that we were investigating a claim involving Jeffrey Epstein of El Brillo in Palm Beach. [redacted] was asked if she wanted to accompany us back to the police station for further questioning. She was also told that at the conclusion of the interview she would be returned home. She agreed and wished to change her clothes prior to accompanying us back to the police station. At the conclusion of her changing clothes, she advised she was ready to go. I thanked Inv. Waites and advised she was going to voluntarily return to the police station.

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Upon [redacted] s entry in the unmarked Detective vehicle, I placed a tape recorder within the vehicle to record any conversations within the vehicle. During the ride back to the police station, [redacted] advised she is attending Palm Beach Community College at the Palm Beach Gardens Campus and is majoring in journalism.

Upon our arrival at the police station, [redacted] was brought to the interview room in the Detective Bureau. I explained to [redacted] that I appreciated her willingness to assist us and informed her that should she desire to leave at any time she may do so. I further explained the interview room door is only closed for privacy. [redacted] stated she understood. During the taped sworn interview, [redacted] was asked how she came in contact with Epstein. [redacted] stated back when she turned 17 years of age she was approached by a friend Molly in the Canopy Beach Resort in Rivera Beach. [redacted] was asked if she wanted to make money.

She was told she would have to provide a massage and should make $200.00. [redacted] thought about the offer and agreed to meet with Jeffrey. [redacted] (Unknown last name) and Tony (Unknown last name) picked her up and she was taken to Epstein's house. Upon her arrival at the house, she was introduced to Epstein in the kitchen of the house. She was also introduced to a white female known to her as [redacted]. She was led upstairs to the main bedroom known to her as Jeff Epstein s bedroom. [redacted] arranged the massage table and covered the table with a sheet. She brought out the massage oils and laid them next to the massage bed. [redacted] then left the room and informed her Jeff would be in a minute. Jeff entered the bedroom wearing only a towel. He lay on the table onto his stomach and picked massage oil for [redacted] to rub on him. During the massage, [redacted] stated, He tried to touch me and I stopped him. I asked how he tried to touch her. He grabbed her buttocks and she felt uncomfortable. [redacted] also stated Epstein has a vibrator, which is large and white in color. [redacted] told Epstein, I'll massage you but I don't want to be touched. [redacted] stated she performed the massage naked. At the conclusion of the massage, Epstein paid [redacted] $200.00 for the massage. He explained, I know you re not comfortable, but I'll pay you if you bring some girls. He told her the younger the better. [redacted] stated she once tried to bring a 23-year-old female and Epstein stated that the female was too old. [redacted] was asked how many girls she brought in total to Epstein. [redacted] stated six that she can remember. [redacted] stated she brought [redacted] [redacted] and the victim in this case. b6 b7C

I asked [redacted] which one was the youngest. [redacted] advised the victim was the youngest. [redacted] stated every girl she brought knew what to expect when they arrived. They were told they would provide a massage, possibly naked, and some touching. I asked her if the victim was aware. She stated every girl she brought knew what to expect. She explained she knew the victim wanted to make money. She approached the victim and explained about going to work for Jeff. The

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victim agreed and arrangements were made to bring the victim to Epstein's house on a weekend. [redacted] stated that she and [redacted] (later identified as [redacted] picked up the victim at the victim s house. They traveled to Epstein's House and entered through the kitchen door. They met with the house chef and Epstein s assistant [redacted]. The victim was introduced to Epstein while they were in the kitchen area. [redacted] led the victim upstairs and Epstein went upstairs. When the massage was over, the victim returned to the kitchen area. [redacted] stated she was paid $200.00 for bring the victim to Epstein's. [redacted] stated the victim told her she was paid $300.00 for the massage. Back in the vehicle, [redacted] asked the victim what happened. The victim told her about the massage and then they went shopping. [redacted] stated the victim was the last person she brought to Epstein. She further stated that she had changed her cellular number to avoid being contacted by [redacted]. She continued that when Epstein announces to his assistant that he is traveling to Palm Beach, [redacted] would contact [redacted] to arrange girls for Epstein. [redacted], later identified as [redacted] Date of Birth [redacted], had told [redacted] that Jeff likes to have his fun with the girls.

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[redacted] stated that once her parents discovered that she was visiting Epstein, they disapproved of the encounters with him and she stopped. [redacted] further stated that [redacted] still tries to call the house and leaves messages. With the assistance of [redacted], we were able to identify [redacted]

Sgt Frick entered the room and explained that based on her own statements, she had implicated herself with bringing underage girls to Epstein's house. [redacted] was aware of what she had stated and wished to assist further in hopes to receive a lesser charge. [redacted] provided cellular telephone numbers for the girls she had mentioned previously. Additionally, she also provided possible addresses and areas in which they lived. As [redacted] was being taken home in the vehicle, a tape recorder was placed within the vehicle to record any conversations within the vehicle. During the drive back to her home, [redacted] made the comment I m like a Heidi Fliess. (Hollywood Madam who sent girls to clients for sexual favors in California). [redacted] was dropped off at her house without incident.

Sgt Frick and I went to [redacted] Florida in an attempt to speak with [redacted] We met with Mrs. [redacted]s Mother) at the front door. We explained the ongoing investigation and felt that [redacted] may have additional information as we had information that she had worked for Jeff. Mrs. [redacted] introduced us to her husband and allowed us entry into the home. We sat in the dinning room and met with [redacted] Date of Birth [redacted] As she was under the age of eighteen, Mrs. [redacted] was advised we would be speaking with her. She expressed, if her daughter had information she wanted to assist. As we interviewed [redacted] she denied having any inappropriate encounters with Jeff (Epstein). She stated she had gone to Jeff s

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)
House with [redacted] approximately eight months ago and sat in the kitchen with the house chef but nothing happened. As the parents were present during the interview, we felt that [redacted] was withholding information from us. She made several comments as to she has put the entire incident behind her. I left my direct telephone number and advised should she wish to speak with me again to telephone me. Sgt Frick and I thanked Mrs. [redacted] for her time and left the area. She stated she would ask her again after we left as to what happened at Epstein s house. I informed her that [redacted] had my telephone number and hopefully she would call.

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Sgt Frick and I then attempted contact with [redacted] We met with [redacted] who stated [redacted] was her daughter. [redacted] was at the Wellington Mall and was not home. We explained the ongoing investigation and felt the [redacted] may have additional information as we had information that she had worked for Jeff. We left our phone numbers and asked her to telephone me upon her daughter's return. We then left the area.

On October 4, 2005, at approximately, 8:05 am, Sgt Frick had retrieved a voice mail message from [redacted] She stated she had spoken with her daughter and she had information as to what occurred at Jeff s house. I contacted [redacted] who stated her daughter was in the shower at the moment and would be traveling back to [redacted] to attend College. I informed her I would be en route to her home in [redacted] Det. Dawson and I drove to the [redacted] home and met with [redacted] During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she was taken to the house by [redacted]. She was told she could make money working for Jeff. She was told she would have to provide a massage to Jeff. [redacted] stated upon her arrival to the house she was brought to the kitchen area by [redacted].

They met with the house chef and [redacted] stayed in the kitchen. She was introduced to [redacted], Jeff's assistant and was brought upstairs to the mater bedroom. [redacted] prepared the room and massage table for a massage. Epstein entered the room and she provided a massage. [redacted] stated she kept her clothes on during the massage. She stated sometime during the massage Epstein grabbed her buttocks and pulled her close to him. [redacted] said she was wierded out by the incident involving Jeff. At the conclusion of the massage, she was paid $200.00 for the massage. I asked [redacted] if she has any formal training in massages to which she replied no. I asked her if [redacted] received any monies for taking her to perform the massage. [redacted] stated [redacted] also received money for taking her there. [redacted] stated she went with [redacted] and another girl, [redacted] to Jeff's house once. [redacted] stated she waited in the kitchen with [redacted], while [redacted] was taken upstairs by [redacted]. [redacted] stated she only did the massage once, as she was wierded out by the whole experience. At the conclusion of the interview and the tape was stopped, I was informed that [redacted] had attempted to reach [redacted] via cell phone. A voice mail message on October 4, 2005 at 10:59 am, revealed a female voice who identified herself as [redacted] who requested her to call her back reference the

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police questioning. This voice mail message was recorded onto a micro cassette. [redacted] provided the incoming telephone number as [redacted] stated she inadvertently told [redacted] about the police investigation because [redacted] had called her to tell her about how she just received a rental car from Jeff Epstein. [redacted] had called her to tell her that she was given a rental car, a 2005 Silver Nissan Sentra, to utilize to visit family and visit Jeff. [redacted] asked her what was going on at the house that the police would be asking questions. [redacted] stated [redacted] then called Jeff and [redacted] and asked what was going on reference the ongoing police investigation. According to [redacted] [redacted] has since then been trying to contact her to ask about the police questions. I instructed [redacted] not to contact [redacted] and do not provide any more information to [redacted] as she would notify Jeff Epstein and [redacted] what was transpiring.

Investigation Continues...

****************************** N A R R A T I V E # 8 ******************************

NA Reported By: LEE, LA'MONT 10/07/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 10/07/05

On March 30, 2005, I was asked by Sgt. Daniel Szarszewski to begin conducting surveillance and trash pulls reference Detective Pagan conducting a criminal investigation involving Jeffrey Epstein. I was advised that Epstein was possibly engaging in sexual contact with young females.

On March 30, 2005, I made contact with Town of Palm Beach Sanitation Office Supervisor Tony Higgins and requested trash pulls for 358 El Brillo Way to begin on March 31, 2005.

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On March 31, 2005 at 9:20 a.m., I responded to the area of 358 El Brillo Way and met with Town of Palm Beach sanitation employee, Jeffrey Williams. I observed Williams enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo Way, collect the trash bags from Epstein's property and place the contents into an empty sanitation truck. I followed Williams to a nearby area, were he turned over seventeen white plastic trash bags, which were collected from Epstein's property.

I took the trash bags to the sanitation department were I sifted through its contents. I collected mail correspondence from Armani Exchange addressed to [redacted], Jeffrey E. Epstein notepaper with [redacted], an important message notepaper addressed to [redacted] dated 03/29/05 at 8:15 p.m. reference Peggy Seagal, U.S Airways boarding pass copy for passenger, Janusz Banasiak, Montgomery County, Maryland Health Department food service ID NO#40820 for Janusz Banasiak and Ghislaine Maxwell notepaper with names and phone numbers. Photocopies of the trash collected were attached with the supplement. Detective Pagan was advised of the contents that were collected for evidentiary value.

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On March 31, 2005, Sgt. Daniel Szarszewski requested that I set up a surveillance vehicle on El Brillo Way and conduct video surveillance of the front exterior of Epstein's residence. At 3:00 p.m., I set up a surveillance vehicle equipped with a video monitoring device. The surveillance vehicle was parked on El Brillo Way approximately fifty feet east of Epstein's driveway. The purpose of the video surveillance was to gather investigative intelligence by monitoring and recording all vehicle and pedestrian traffic entering and leaving Epstein's property.

The video surveillance tapes were changed daily with a new Maxell T-160 VHS tape. Video surveillance was established for Epstein s from March 31, 2005 through April 05, 2005. On April 05, 2005, video surveillance was concluded. I reviewed the video tapes and advised Detective Pagan the surveillance videos yielded no evidentiary value.

On April 01, 2005 at 9:30 a.m., I responded to the area of 358 El Brillo Way to meet with Town of Palm Beach sanitation employee, Jessie Jones. While parked in the area of 358 El Brillo Way waiting to collect Epstein s trash, I observed a white female, who I recognized as [redacted] from her Florida driver's license photograph. I made no contact with [redacted]. While parked in the area, I also observed Epstein s GMC Yukon truck leave the property as well as other vehicles arrive and park across the street from the property. The occupants of these vehicles appeared to be housekeepers, maintenance men, and gardeners.

At 9:38 a.m., I met with Town of Palm Beach sanitation employee, Jessie Jones. I observed Jones enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo Way and collect the trash from Epstein s property. I followed Jessie to a predetermined area at which time I collected the trash bags from the sanitation truck. I transported the trash bags to the sanitation department, where I sifted through its contents. I collected mail correspondences addressed to Jeffrey Epstein, automotive records and personal documents for Janusz Banasiak and [redacted] as well as Jeffrey Epstein notepaper with the names and appointment times for [redacted]. No last names or other personal information was written on the notepaper. b6 b7C

While sifting through Epstein s trash, I also collected a three-inch purple finger size object, which had a broken end. The object appeared to be a broke piece from a sexual toy similar to a (Cyclone Vibrator) possibly used for rectal gratification. The sexual object was photographed for Detective Pagan, packaged in a biohazard evidence bag (possible body fluids) and secured as investigative evidence. All items collected from Epstein s trash were turned over to Detective Pagan for evidentiary purposes.

On April 05, 2005 at 9:18 a.m., I met with Town of Palm Beach sanitation employee, Jessie Jones. I observed Jones enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo Way and collect the trash from Epstein s property. I followed Jessie to a predetermined area at which time I

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collected the trash bags from the sanitation truck. I transported the trash bags to the sanitation department, where I sifted through its contents. I collected mail correspondences addressed to Jeffrey Epstein as well as notepaper (Important Message) with names and telephone numbers. The following are items collected from Epstein s trash.

[redacted]
blank piece of white paper [redacted]
black paper [redacted]
black paper
[redacted]
MSN Hotmail web page with email address ([redacted]@hotmail.com)

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The following items were documented for Detective Pagan s investigation for evidentiary purposes.

On April 06, 08, 11, 12, 13, 15, 2005, at approximately 9:30 a.m, I met with Town of Palm Beach sanitation employees. I observed the employee enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo Way and collect the trash from Epstein's property. I followed the employee to a predetermined area at which time I collected the trash bags from the sanitation truck. I transported the trash bags to the sanitation department, where I sifted through its contents.

All of the documents collected from Epstein's trash during my assistance were turned over to Detective Pagan for evidentiary purposes.

On June 14, 2005, Detective Michelle Pagan contacted me and advised that the airplane belonging to Jeffrey Epstein of 358 El Brillo Way was parked at the Palm Beach International Airport.

Detective Pagan requested that I begin trash pulls for the purpose of gathering evidence and intelligence.

I made contact with Town of Palm Beach Sanitation Office Supervisor Tony Higgins and requested trash pulls for 358 El Brillo Way to begin on June 15, 2005.

On June 15, 2005, I met with a sanitation employee. I observed the employee enter the driveway of 358 El Brillo Way and collect the trash from Epstein s property. I followed the employee to a predetermined area at which time I collected the trash bags from the sanitation truck. I transported the trash bags to the sanitation department, where I sifted through its contents. The trash yielded negative results and no evidence was collected.

No further trash was collected throughout the week due to the fact that Epstein s security gates remained closed throughout the week; therefore, the sanitation employees were unable to gain access onto the property for collection of the trash.

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All evidence and intelligence gathered by this officer has been turned over to the detective bureau and no further action has been taken by this officer.

End of supplement.

*************************** NARRATIVE # 9 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 10/07/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 10/10/05

On October 4, 2005, I made telephone contact with [redacted] who had left several messages on voice mail. During the message, she advised she was not completely truthful when we met in person but would like to speak with me to advise what had happened. She further advised she did not want to speak of this incident in front of her mother. At approximately 15:48 pm, I made telephone contact with [redacted] During a taped recorded statement, [redacted] stated the following: Approximately a year ago, when she was sixteen years of age, [redacted] took her to Jeff's house twice. The first time she went, [redacted] drove to the house. They entered through the kitchen area where she was introduced to [redacted] and Jeff. She was taken upstairs to a bedroom by [redacted] who set the room up with a massage bed and brought out the oils to use. Jeff then entered the room wearing a towel. He lay on the table and picked out a lotion for [redacted] to rub on him. At one point during the massage, he tried to remove her shirt at which point she became very upset and discontinued the massage. Both [redacted] and Jeffrey had a verbal disagreement at which time she left without being paid. She met with [redacted] who was sitting in the kitchen and told her let's go. [redacted] advised she received no money for that day. [redacted] also said that [redacted] had told her if she was uncomfortable with what was going on, to let him know and he'll stop. She knew that the more you do the more you are paid.

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Several weeks later, [redacted] advised she agreed to be taken a second time by [redacted]. Once they arrived at the residence, [redacted] sat in the kitchen and [redacted] took her upstairs to the master bedroom again. [redacted] set the room up with a massage bed and brought out the oils to use. Jeff then entered the room wearing a towel. He lay on the table and picked out a lotion for [redacted] to rub on him. At one point during the massage, he tried to touch her buttocks. As [redacted] was wearing tight jeans and had a tight belt on Jeff was unable to touch her buttocks. Jeff then rolled onto his back during the massage; he attempted to touch her breasts. [redacted] then became upset again and told him she didn't want to be touched. [redacted] discontinued the massage and was paid $200.00. [redacted] then went downstairs where [redacted] was waiting for her. She told [redacted] she wanted to leave. [redacted] said she never returned to the house. [redacted] stated she is aware that her friend, [redacted] was also at the house and had a problem with Jeff. She provided a telephone number

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for [redacted] The interview was concluded and the micro cassettes were turn in as evidence.

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On October 5, 2005, I researched the incoming telephone number that had left [redacted] a message. The telephone number, [redacted] was assigned to ATT/Cingular Cellular service. I prepared a subpoena request and faxed the request to the State Attorney s Office. Information requested was subscriber information as well as all incoming and outgoing calls for the months of September and October 2005.

I later researched [redacted] and discovered she resides in Royal Palm Beach. Det. Dawson and I drove to Royal Palm Beach and met with [redacted] at her residence [redacted] in Royal Palm Beach.

[redacted] agreed to speak with us in the kitchen area. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated the following: On or about November 2004, she was approached by [redacted] and asked if she wanted to make money. She agreed and was told she would provide a massage to wealthy man in Palm Beach. [redacted] picked her up and drove her to a house in Palm Beach. She was brought into the kitchen area of the house. She further stated that [redacted] went with them. They were brought into the kitchen where she was introduced to Jeff and other females. [redacted] stated she was introduced to a helper of Jeff; the female was described as white female (unknown name), with blond hair. She stated that the assistant was familiar with [redacted]. The assistant set up the massage table and put out lotions to be used. She told [redacted] Jeff would available in a minute. Jeff entered the room wearing only a towel. Jeff lay on the massage table and picked a lotion to rub on his thighs and back. [redacted] further stated that during the massage Jeff asked her to remove her clothes. She complied and removed her pants and blouse. [redacted] didn't remember if she had removed her bra but feels that she did. [redacted] was certain that she stayed in her thong underwear. [redacted] continued the massage and at one point she straddled him to massage his back, which touched his buttocks with hers. [redacted] was instructed to return to the ground at which time Jeff turned to have his chest rubbed. [redacted] advised it was at this time she is sure he was masturbating. [redacted] did not want to look at his penis area because she was uncomfortable. Jeff removed a large white vibrator and turned it on. [redacted] stated he began rubbing the vibrator over her thong underwear on her vaginal area. Shortly thereafter, Jeff ejaculated and removed himself from the table. He walked over to where the shower was and opened the glass door. She waited as he was taking a shower in her direct view. When I asked [redacted] how old she was when this occurred, she stated she had just turned seventeen. At the conclusion of the shower, [redacted] was paid either $350.00 or $400.00. She stated she wasn't sure, but knows it was close to $400.00. At the conclusion of the interview, [redacted] stated she never returned to provide a massage for Jeff. She advised she was ashamed and uncomfortable with the situation.

Det. Dawson and I then left the area and responded to the [redacted] [redacted] where [redacted] and all the above-mentioned girls had attended. I met with School Police Officer, Off Williams. I explained I was looking for a previous student who attended [redacted] [redacted]. I inquired about [redacted]. I further explained that I was working a case in which most of the girls I have interviewed are either witnesses or victims and felt that [redacted] may be one as well. Officer Williams researched his previous student records and found [redacted] She attended the same year and graduated in the same year as the other girls. I was provided the last known address of [redacted]

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At approximately 2:10 pm, Det. Dawson and I met with [redacted] at her residence, [redacted] in Royal Palm Beach. As [redacted] was only seventeen years of age, I had notified her mother, [redacted] [redacted] that she would be interviewed reference an ongoing investigation in Palm Beach. I assured her that her daughter was not a suspect. I explained the possibility of her being either a witness or victim. Mrs. [redacted] advised she wanted [redacted] to cooperate and consented to the interview. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] [redacted] stated the following: at the age of sixteen, during the month of September 2004, she was approached by [redacted] for a chance to make money. [redacted] was friends with the friends of [redacted] and knew the same people. [redacted] had been previously told by her friends what [redacted] did for Jeff. [redacted] called a person known to [redacted] as [redacted] and scheduled the appointment. [redacted] picked [redacted] up and drove her to Palm Beach to a street called Brillo Way. They drove to the end of the street and entered a large driveway. They entered the kitchen area of the house and met with Jeff. [redacted] was introduced to Jeff. [redacted] led [redacted] upstairs to the main bedroom area and set up the room with a massage table and set out the oils. [redacted] dimmed the lights and turned on soft music. [redacted] exited the room and Jeff entered the room wearing only a towel. Jeff picked oils and instructed her to rub his legs, under his buttocks, back and chest area. Jeff asked her to get comfortable. [redacted] advised she did not remove her clothes. She was wearing tight jeans and a cropped tank top exposing her belly area. During the massage, Jeff removed his towel. As [redacted] rubbed his chest area, Jeff attempted to reach down her pants through the buttocks area, however was unable to due to the tightness of the jeans and a tight belt. [redacted] advised Jeff began to masturbate as she rubbed his chest. Jeff moaned as she rubbed his chest. She observed he was continuing to masturbate and attempted to reach up her tank top and touch her breasts. [redacted] pulled back and Jeff stopped. However, he kept masturbating until he climaxed. He cleaned himself with the towel he was previously wearing. I asked [redacted] if she knew the difference between circumcised and not circumcised. She explained she knew and advised Jeff was circumcised. [redacted] was paid $200.00 for the massage and left the area. She met with [redacted] who was waiting in the kitchen area and left the house.

[redacted] then explained she never provided another massage for Jeff. She did however, go to the house with [redacted] and [redacted] as they took another friend of [redacted]. [redacted] advised she was present when [redacted] went to work for Jeff. She advised she rode over and sat in the kitchen area with [redacted] to wait for [redacted] advised that while they waited for [redacted] the house chef prepared lunch for them, as it was almost lunchtime. As [redacted] was finished with the massage, they left the area. I asked [redacted] if [redacted] ever told what would be expected of her when she provided a massage. [redacted] stated yes, [redacted] told her that a massage would be expected possibly naked and possibly some touching involved. [redacted] has no formal training in providing massages.

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[redacted] spoke about a third and last time she went to Jeff's house. [redacted] drove another girl, [redacted] who is [redacted] friend, to Jeff's house. [redacted] stated she knew that [redacted] had made money providing girls for Jeff and she wanted to do the same. [redacted] took them in the kitchen area of the house and introduced [redacted] to [redacted]. [redacted] and [redacted] took [redacted] upstairs to the main bedroom. [redacted] advised she doesn t know what happened as [redacted] did not speak about what happened in the room. [redacted] received $100.00 from [redacted] for going with her to Jeff s house and recommending [redacted] was unable to remember [redacted] telephone number. The interview was concluded and we left the area.

Investigation Continues...

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 10 **************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 10/09/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 10/10/05

On October 6, 2005, Det. Dawson and I went to [redacted] located in [redacted]. We met with Dean of Students, [redacted]. I explained to [redacted] that we were investigating a crime within the Town of Palm Beach and felt that a student, [redacted] may have information. [redacted] confirmed that [redacted] is a student and currently [redacted]. She was in computer class at the time of our arrival. [redacted] sent a security guard to locate [redacted] in class and bring her to the office. [redacted] allowed us to interview [redacted] in an empty conference room.

At 11:45 am I met with [redacted] and explained to her why we there to interview her. She advised she was aware of the ongoing investigation. [redacted] stated she had previously spoken with [redacted] [redacted] who told her she was interviewed by detectives. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she knew that [redacted] worked for Jeff in Palm Beach. [redacted] advised she has been there many times for massages. I asked her if she had formal training in providing massages, [redacted] stated she did not. [redacted] advised she was told what was expected of her by providing massages and would have to remove clothing but if she felt uncomfortable just to say so and Jeff would stop pushing the issue. [redacted] began providing massages and advised she kept her clothes on. She considered Jeff a pervert who kept

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pushing to go further and further. [redacted] explained she would keep telling him she had a boyfriend and that it would not be right to her boyfriend. It wasn t until recently [redacted] admitted to removing her clothes and staying in her thong underwear to provide a massage. [redacted] explained Jeff wanted to be rubbed on his back and recently he began turning over to have her rub his chest as he masturbated. He would try to touch her breasts as she rubbed his chest. [redacted] stated, Jeff would try to get away with more and more on each massage. Originally, [redacted] drove her to the house for the original massage. [redacted] left [redacted] her cell phone number and every time Jeff would come into town, [redacted] would call her for an appointment. Each time she went, [redacted] would meet her at the kitchen door area. She would bring her upstairs and prepare the massage table. [redacted] advised Jeff would ask her questions about herself. He knew she was [redacted] and would be attending [redacted]. I asked [redacted] if he knew her real age, [redacted] stated Jeff didn t care. The most recent massage she provided was on October 1, 2005. During the massage she asked Jeff if she could borrow one of his vehicles to visit her family and boyfriend in [redacted]. Jeff had told she could borrow one of his vehicles but later stated he would rent her a car. She continued with the massage as Jeff grabbed her buttocks and caressed the buttocks cheeks. I asked [redacted] if she was wearing undergarments to which she replied her thong underwear. Once he tried to touch her breasts she would pull away from him and he would stop. [redacted] was asked if he ever used a vibrator on her. [redacted] was aware of the vibrator but advised she never would allow him to use the vibrator on her. She described the vibrator as a large white vibrator with a huge head on the tip of the vibrator. She stated he kept the vibrator in a closet near the massage table. [redacted] advised she had been doing the massage for approximately two years, which meant she would have started doing massages for Jeff at the age of sixteen.

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[redacted] stated she was contacted by [redacted] on October 3, 2005. [redacted] had informed her that Jeff had rented her a new Nissan Sentra and she should come by the house to pick it up. [redacted] informed [redacted] she would have the car for a month. [redacted] stated Jeff knew her car was not working properly and had missed appointments in the past because of her car being inoperable. [redacted] explained the car is currently parked next to the Gym field. I asked her if she ever took any one to the house. [redacted] explained she took [redacted] a friend of hers who has returned to Orlando to attend college. I asked she ever allowed another female in the room. [redacted] advised no one was brought into the room with her. At the conclusion of the interview, Det. Dawson and I went to the Gym area and located the Silver Nissan Sentra bearing Florida tag X98-APM. The vehicle is registered to Dollar rent a car out of the Palm Beach International Airport.

Telephone contact was made with [redacted] the victim's mother, at [redacted] I explained to her that I was following up on this case and provided a complete update on the case.

Investigation Continues.

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 11 ***************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 10/21/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 10/21/05

On October 10, 2005, at approximately 2:30 p.m., I made telephone contact with [redacted] During a taped conversation, [redacted] was told of an ongoing investigation in which I felt she had information pertaining to Jeffrey Epstein. [redacted] explained she met Epstein when she was just sixteen years of age. She was approached by [redacted] [redacted] a friend who also had previously gone to Epstein's house for massages. [redacted] advised she was working at the Wellington Mall when she was approached. [redacted] told her that she would have to provide a massage to Epstein and she would have to perform this massage naked. [redacted] thought about the offer and stated she could make $200.00 for only 30 minutes of work. She agreed to perform the massage and [redacted] set the appointment for her that same day. [redacted] remembered it was a weekend as she only worked at the mall on the weekends. [redacted] took her to the house where she was introduced to [redacted], Jeff Epstein's assistant. [redacted] took her upstairs to a master bedroom. [redacted] explained that as she was walking up the stairs she observed several photographs of naked women along the walls and tables of the house. [redacted] further explained that she was brought into the bedroom where [redacted] prepared the room by setting up the massage table and provided the oils for her to rub on Epstein.

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Epstein entered the room and introduced himself. Epstein lay on the table and told her to get comfortable. [redacted] could not remember if he was naked or if he entered the room with a towel. [redacted] stated she provided the massage wearing only her panties. She continued rubbing his legs, thighs and feet. [redacted] advised he turned over onto his back. She continued to rub his legs with the oils. Epstein touched her breasts and began to masturbate. I asked [redacted] if she knew what circumcised and un-circumcised meant. [redacted] stated circumcised is when the penis has no foreskin and the head of the penis is visible. [redacted] said Epstein is circumcised. [redacted] began to cry on the telephone and stated she had been to his house hundreds of times over a two-year period. She claimed to have made thousands of dollars during her visits. [redacted] stated she could not remember how many times exactly she went to Epstein's home but said it was a lot.

[redacted] became more upset, crying hysterically and stated she was paid and instructed to have sex with Epstein's assistant, [redacted] by Epstein. Epstein continued to watch them have sex and masturbated himself as they had sex with each other. She further stated that things escalated further and further. Epstein used sexual toys such as vibrators, rubber penises and strap-on penises on [redacted] Additionally, [redacted] stated he performed oral sex on her numerous times. She claimed he (Epstein) put his fingers inside her vagina while he masturbated in an attempt to make her climax. [redacted] could not continue and wanted some time to regain her composure. I explained to [redacted] to take her time. After taking several minutes to regain her composure I

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explained that I would travel to meet with her in person as I felt she had additional information to provide. I met with Sgt. Frick and explained the importance to meet with [redacted] in person. Sgt. Frick b6
agreed and made arraignments for Det. Dawson and I to meet with [redacted] b7C
in Jacksonville, Florida.

On October 11, 2005, at 4:10 p.m., Det. Dawson and I met with [redacted] and her friend, [redacted] in Jacksonville, Florida. [redacted] wanted to have [redacted] present for support. I explained to her that I did not have a problem as long as she wanted [redacted] present during the interview. [redacted] stated she wanted her present. I explained that as [redacted] was present she was not allowed to comment or ask any questions during the interview. She was only there to comfort [redacted] should the interview upset her.

During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] explained how everything began. She said she was brought through the kitchen area where she met [redacted] for the first time. She was led to the master bedroom, Epstein s room. [redacted] explained that as she was walking up the stairs she observed several photographs of naked women along the walls and tables of the house. [redacted] further explained that she was brought into the bedroom, where [redacted] prepared the room by setting up the massage table and provided the oils for her to rub on Epstein. [redacted] explained she remembered the steam room area, which contained two large showers. Epstein entered the room from the steam room area and introduced himself. Epstein lay on the table and told her to get comfortable. [redacted] removed her skirt and kept her shirt on. She could not remember if he was naked or if he entered the room with a towel. Epstein then instructed her to remove her shirt. [redacted] removed her shirt and remembered she was not wearing a bra. [redacted] stated she provided the massage wearing only her panties. She continued rubbing his legs, thighs and feet. [redacted] advised he turned over onto his back. She continued to rub his legs with the oils. Epstein touched her breasts and began to masturbate. Epstein ejaculated which meant the massage was over.. At the conclusion of the massage, [redacted] was paid $200.00. They walked together downstairs where [redacted] and [redacted] were waiting. [redacted] stated [redacted] received an unknown amount of money for taking her to Epstein. Epstein instructed to leave her cellular telephone number so that he could contact her when he is in town.

[redacted] explained that she continued to go to Epstein s house and became a regular at the house. She could not provide an exact number but claimed she had been their hundreds of times. She claimed sexual activities did not occur every time she was there. There were times she went to dinners and parties with Epstein. [redacted] explained that things began to escalate more than the massage. The encounters included bringing in his assistant, [redacted]. [redacted] explained Epstein had purchased her from her family in [redacted]. Epstein bragged he brought her into the United States to be his [redacted] sex slave. [redacted] advised he was naked in the bedroom, she entered and removed her clothing. [redacted] entered the room from the steam room area already naked. He instructed [redacted] to perform oral sex on [redacted] . [redacted] refused to perform that act. Epstein offered her an additional $200.00 for her to perform oral sex on [redacted] for five minutes. [redacted] agreed to perform the oral sex for the additional $200.00. [redacted] explained that Epstein would masturbate while he watched them perform sexual acts. b6 b7C

Things continued to escalate by purchasing sex toys. [redacted] stated she had massagers, vibrators and strap on rubber penises used on her. Each time something new was introduced additional monies were produced and offered for [redacted] to allow the acts to happen. [redacted] was adamant that she performs all these acts but there was an understanding with Epstein that no vaginal penetration would occur with his penis. [redacted] explained that Epstein's penis was deformed. [redacted] explained that his penis was oval shaped. She claimed when Epstein's penis was erect, it was thick toward the bottom but was thin and small toward the head portion. She called it egg-shaped.

[redacted] continued that the sexual encounters with [redacted] Epstein and her became a ritual. [redacted] would arrive at the house and walk herself upstairs, where [redacted] and Epstein were waiting. [redacted] would remove her clothing and join them on the bed. [redacted] explained [redacted] and she would begin by kissing and touching each other. [redacted] explained sex toys were brought into the bed by either Epstein or [redacted] and they would begin using the toys on each other. Epstein would perform oral sex on either person depending who was on top during the intercourse. [redacted] explanation revealed they were in a missionary position.

[redacted] advised one day, ([redacted] was unable to state and exact date when this incident occurred), she came to the house after [redacted] had informed her that Epstein had arrived. She arrived at the house and went upstairs to the master bedroom. [redacted] advised she immediately removed her clothing, as [redacted] and Epstein were already naked in the bedroom. [redacted] explained that [redacted] and she had a sexual encounter to include kissing, touching and oral sex. [redacted] remembered that she climaxed and was removing her self from the massage table. [redacted] asked for a sheet of paper and drew the massage table in the master bathroom and where Epstein, [redacted] and she were. Epstein turned [redacted] on to her stomach on the massage bed and inserted his penis into her vagina. [redacted] stated Epstein began to pump his penis in her vagina. [redacted] became upset over this. She said her head was being held against the bed forcibly, as he continued to pump inside her. She screamed no, and Epstein stopped. She told him that she did not want to have his penis inside of her. Epstein apologized for his actions and subsequently paid her a thousand dollars for that visit. Additionally, shortly thereafter, Epstein gave [redacted] a 2005 Doge Neon, blue in color for her personal use.

[redacted] advised there were times that she was so sore when she left Epstein's house. [redacted] advised she was ripped, torn, in her vagina area. [redacted] advised she had difficulty walking to the car after leaving the house because she was so sore. [redacted] advised that other than that one time, when Epstein inserted his penis inside her vagina, there was no other penile intercourse.

[redacted] provided names of girls that she knew of that have gone to Epstein's house. [redacted] provided the name of [redacted] and feels she still may be going to the house to massage Epstein. According to [redacted] is still sucking his dick." b6 b7C

When asked if she had been recently contacted by anyone of the house, [redacted] advised she received an email from [redacted], from [redacted].net, which is her email account. The email was just a hello, how are you doing type of email. There had been no other contact from the house. The interview was concluded and [redacted] left the area. The tapes and drawing were submitted into evidence.

Investigation continues...

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 12 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/01/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/07/05

On October 12, 2005, Det. Dawson and I traveled to the Orlando area and made telephone contact with [redacted] agreed to meet with us as we were in the Orlando area. [redacted] provided directions to her apartment. Det. Dawson and I met with [redacted] who stated, during a sworn taped statement that nothing happened between her and Epstein. [redacted] appeared nervous during the interview. I assured her that I had spoken with other people who advised differently. [redacted] stated she only went a couple of times and provided a massage to Epstein. She stated she was brought to the Epstein house in March of 2005. [redacted] brought her to work. [redacted] has no formal training in providing massages. [redacted] stated she provided a massage, fully clothed for $200.00. As I sensed hesitancy in her answers, I asked [redacted] if she had been contacted by anyone from the house. [redacted] stated she was interviewed already by an investigator for Epstein. He met with her on October 8, 2005, at a Roadhouse in Orlando. He identified himself as Paul and inquired about the police investigation and left his telephone number [redacted] for additional contact. [redacted] provided no additional information, as it appeared her responses were almost scripted. We left the area and returned to Palm Beach Police Department.

Based on the information acquired during the interviews, a search warrant was prepared for entry at the Epstein home. On October 18, 2005, I met with Judge Laura Johnson who reviewed the warrant request. She found there was sufficient probable cause and signed the warrant request. On October 20, 2005, at approximately 9:36 am, members of the Palm Beach Police Investigations Unit executed the search warrant at 358 El Brillo in Palm Beach. Members of the Investigations Unit included Capt Gudger, Sgt Frick, Det. Dicks, Det. Dawson, Det. Melnichok, Det. Sandman, Det. Krauel, the crime scene unit and myself.

As we entered onto the property, we encountered the house manager, Janusz Banasiak who was in the guest portion of the house. The guesthouse section had open doors and no forced entry was made. I made contact with Banasiak, Date of Birth [redacted] Fl DL [redacted] and informed him of the search warrant for the premises. The members of the Police Department entered the residence and announced we had a search warrant. A safety search was done and members exited the home. I read the search warrant to Banasiak as Mgr Parkinson videotaped the search warrant execution. Several interior decorators were located on the property. I spoke with Mark Zeff, of [redacted] in New York. Mr. Zeff stated he is the designer for Mr. Epstein's homes. He advised he was contacted in March of 2005 to do a complete overhaul on the house. He advised he was on the phone with Mr. Epstein when officers announced the search warrant. Mr. Epstein was then made aware of the search warrant. Mr. Zeff advised, his contact with Epstein is strictly business and he has never witnessed Epstein with any girls except for his assistants, [redacted] or [redacted].

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I then interviewed Daniel Estes, of [redacted] in New York. Mr. Estes stated he has worked for Zeff for seven years. He advised he personally worked on the New York and Palm Beach home for Mr. Epstein. He has previously met with [redacted], Epstein's assistants in New York and in Florida. Estes stated they travel with Epstein everywhere he goes.

I interviewed Zara Bailey of [redacted], New Jersey. Bailey stated she just arrived from Scotland and has worked with Zeff for only one month. She stated she has never met Epstein and has not seen him. The interview was then concluded.

I then spoke with Douglas Schoettle of [redacted] in New York City. Schoettle stated he has been Epstein's Architect for seven years. He further stated he deals with Epstein's assistants and speaks with Epstein on the phone. Schoettle stated he mainly speaks with [redacted], Epstein s main assistant, who travels with Epstein. Schoettle stated he only has contact with Epstein when his services are needed.

At approximately 10:30 am, I was informed that the videotaping was concluded. I entered the residence and located two covert (hidden) cameras. The first camera was a covert wall clock in the garage area. I traced the wire behind the clock and removed the RCA wire and unplugged the camera. The other covert camera was located within a desk clock beside Epstein's desk. I traced the wire behind the clock and unplugged the RCA wire. I could not locate another camera. I then began with the search of the residence for the specified evidence.

My search consisted of the second floor. Det. Krauel and I began in the master bedroom area where several items were located. They were

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marked to be retrieved by the evidence custodian. In the master desk with Epstein's notepads marked Jeffrey Epstein we located a high school transcript from [redacted] for [redacted] [redacted] Also in the room, was the dresser /armoire where we located a bottle of peach flavored Joy Jelly (Sexual Lubricant). Additionally, there were several photographs of young naked teenage girls within the closet, which was consistent with what the witnesses said. The massage table was also located within the master bedroom. Video tapes were located beside the television, which were also collected. An itemized list of the property and locations was prepared on the property receipts. At approximately 2:55 pm, the house was secured; the exit of the residence was videotaped. Upon our exit of the property, I encountered Atty. Guy Fronstein who advised he was representing Mr. Epstein. He provided a business card and provided his assistance with the investigation.

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Due to Hurricane Wilma, which struck South Florida causing massive power outages, the courthouse was closed due to the lack of power. I was previously told that the Chief Judge had extended the filing deadlines due to the hurricane and the Courthouse being closed. On October 27, and 28, 2005 the courthouse was closed and I could not file the search warrant and inventory at the clerk's office. On October 31, 2005, I responded to the courthouse and filed the paperwork along with an order to seal, signed by Judge Johnson, to deny any release of any paperwork on this case.

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**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 13 ***************************

NA Reported By: PARKINSON, GREGORY A. 10/20/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/07/05

On October 20, 2005, at approximately 8:30 a.m., Thursday morning, I was advised by Captain Gudger that a search warrant would be executed and that I was to assemble the Crime Scene Investigative Team and stand by the south side of the building ready to go. I designated Evidence Specialist Annette Badger to handle the inventory return, the documentation of the property receipts and the collection and bagging of the evidence at the scene. I further instructed CSI Kim Pavlik, ID # 8807, to accompany us and perform the role of photographing the scene and the items that may be taken into custody by the affiant, Detective Joseph Recarey, ID # 7915.

My responsibility was to go through from the reading of the warrant to the final exit from the residence and perform a video recording of the reading of the warrant, the initial walk through of the residence showing the current condition and then finally a walk through of the residence at the time of the police exit.

We started out towards the residence, which was located at 358 El Brillo and arrived at approximately 9:33 a.m. The search was conducted, items were collected by Evidence Specialists Badger,

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photographed by CSI Pavlik and then videotaped by myself. The search was concluded at approximately 3:05 p.m. whereupon Detective Recarey and I were the last two officers in the house. Upon securing the residence we met with the gentleman who identified himself to Detective Recarey as the lawyer for the defendant and he was informed that the residence was secured and that copies of the inventory return had been left on the first floor table of the personal assistant's office.

Detective Recarey and I returned to Police Headquarters and secured for the day.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 14 **************************

NA Reported By: DAWSON, MICHAEL C. 11/07/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/07/05

On October 20, 2005, I assisted Defective Recarey in the execution of a search warrant at 358 El Brillo Way, Palm Beach, Florida, 33480.

Upon the announcement of the search warrant, immediate contact was made with three white males who came out of the house or surrounding structures. Those males were identified as Janusz Banasiak, Daniel Estes, and Mark Zeff. As other members of the police department cleared the home, I kept watch over these three males. Once the house was cleared, those males were turned over to Detective Recarey.

Detective Dicks and I were assigned to assist in the search of the main house, the cabana and the servant's quarters. We started in the garage. All areas of the garage were searched to include four vehicles. These vehicles were three black Mercedes Benz cars registered to Jeffrey Epstein. The fourth vehicle was a Harley Davidson motorcycle, green in color, registered to Jeffrey Epstein. Nothing was recovered from the garage.

A towel closet and pantry located off the kitchen were searched and yielded negative results.

The kitchen was searched and taken into evidence was a phone message book that was located near a house phone.

North of the kitchen was an office room which contained a computer. The room had a closet that contained a locked gun locker. The combination was entered by Banasiak in the presence of Sgt. Frick and the safe was opened. Items were taken from the room. See the completed property receipt for a detailed list.

A green bathroom located on the first floor was searched and nothing was taken.

A closet located just west of the green bathroom was searched. Two massage tables were located in the closet along with a photo of a nude female from the waist up. See the property receipt for details.

I searched two bedrooms and their adjoining bathrooms, which were located on the second floor on the East side of the house. In the Northeast bedroom closet I found adult sex toys called Twin Torpedoes. Soap made in the shape of a penis and vagina were also found in these upstair bedrooms. See the property receipt for details.

I searched the pool cabana located on the South side of the pool. Photos were taken from the wall. See the property receipt for details.

I assisted in the search of Banasiak's living quarters. Numerous CD s along with a message book was seized. See the property receipt for details.

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 15 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/08/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/08/05

On November 1, 2005, I was contacted by Atty. Gus Fronstin, who advised he was willing to assist with the investigation. Atty. Fronstin advised he would try to have his client, Jeffrey Epstein available to be interviewed. I explained I would be interested in conducting an interview with his client as well as other employees that are employed within the house. Atty. Fronstin advised he would return my call once he received confirmation on the interviews.

On November 6, 2005, I attempted contact with [redacted] at her residence. I left a business card for her to return my call. Upon returning to the police department, I had received a telephone call from [redacted] I returned her call at [redacted] and spoke with [redacted] She made arrangements to respond to the station to provide an interview. At approximately 3:30 pm, she arrived at the Palm Beach Police Station with her boyfriend. Her boyfriend was allowed to sit in the lobby area while [redacted] was interviewed. b6 b7C

I took [redacted] to the Detective Bureau Interview room. I closed the door for privacy and explained to her that I appreciated her coming to the police station for the interview. During the sworn taped statement, she advised she was at Jeffrey Epstein s house one time. Approximately two months ago, she was approached by a girl, [redacted] [redacted] who was dating her roommate, to make some quick money. [redacted] advised she was in need to make some quick cash to make the rent that month. She agreed to go to the house. She had been told by [redacted] [redacted] that the massage would have to be done in her underwear. She advised [redacted] drove with her and brought her into the house. They walked into the kitchen area and took the stairs upstairs. [redacted] further stated she was brought into a master bedroom area. She advised she recalled seeing portraits of naked women throughout the room. A massage table was already out near the sauna/shower area in the master bedroom. Epstein entered the room wearing only a towel and introduced himself as Jeff. [redacted] advised she recalled she and [redacted] removed their clothing down to their panties, Epstein lay on his stomach area and they provided a massage on his legs and feet area. I asked [redacted] if she had any formal massage training and she replied no. [redacted] advised she was topless and the panties she wore were the boy shorts lace panties. She and [redacted] continued the massage until the last ten minutes of the massage, Epstein, told [redacted] to leave the room so that [redacted] could finish the massage.

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[redacted] got dressed and Epstein turned over onto his back. Epstein then removed the towel, which had been around his waist. Epstein laid there naked and requested that [redacted] rub his chest area. [redacted] stated as she did this, Epstein, began masturbating as she rubbed his chest. [redacted] stated he pulled down her boy short panties and he produced a large white vibrator with a large head. She stated it was within a drawer in his master bathroom. He rubbed the vibrator on her vagina area. [redacted] advised he never penetrated her vagina with the vibrator.

He continued to rub her vagina with the vibrator as he continued to masturbate. [redacted] stated she was very uncomfortable during the incident but knew it was almost over. Epstein climaxed and started to remove himself from the table. He wiped himself with the towel he had on previously and went into the shower area. [redacted] got dressed and met with [redacted] in the kitchen area. Epstein came into the kitchen and provided [redacted] $200.00 for bringing [redacted] and paid $200.00 to [redacted] for providing the massage. [redacted] was told to leave her telephone number with [redacted], his assistant for future contact. [redacted] provided her cellular telephone number for future contact. [redacted] was asked if she was recently contacted about this investigation by anyone from the Epstein organization. She replied she was called but it was for work. She stated she was called by [redacted] for her to return to work for Epstein. [redacted] stated work is the term used by [redacted] to provide the massage in underwear. [redacted] advised she declined, as she was not comfortable in providing that type of work. The interview was concluded and the videotape was placed into evidence.

Investigation Continues..

**************************** NARRATIVE # 16 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/10/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/10/05

On November 7, 2005, I made telephone contact with [redacted] who advised she would be able to meet with me at her home. Det. Sandman and I traveled to her home in Royal Palm Beach and made contact with [redacted]. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she met Jeffrey Epstein through [redacted]. [redacted] would approach females who wished to work for him. [redacted] stated she was asked to work for him but declined. [redacted] explained that work means give massages. She was asked about any formal training in providing massages to which she said no. [redacted] said she accompanied [redacted] and other females

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who were taken to Epstein s house to provide massages. [redacted] further stated she had been to the house approximately 4 or 5 times in the past year. She accompanied [redacted] with [redacted] [redacted] the 14-year-old victim, and [redacted] Each time the girls were taken over, they were previously told they would have to provide a massage, possibly naked. It was also told that should Epstein require them to do anything extra and they were not comfortable just to tell him and he would stop. [redacted] stated [redacted] received $200.00 for each girl she brought over to massage Jeffrey Epstein. When I asked which girl appeared to be the youngest, she replied, the victim, as she stated she was fifteen years old at the most; she looked really young. [redacted] further stated each time she went to the house, she sat in the kitchen and waited with [redacted] until the massage was over. She further stated that the cook would make lunch or a snack for them as they waited. I asked her if there was anything that caught her attention within the home. [redacted] stated there were a lot of naked girls in photographs throughout the house. The interview was concluded and the tape was turned into evidence.

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Investigation Continues..

**************************** NARRATIVE # 17 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/10/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/10/05

Det. Dawson and I attempted contact with [redacted] in Royal Palm Beach. I left my business card at her front door. [redacted] returned my call and arranged a meeting with me at the Palm Beach Police Department for November 8, 2005. At approximately 2:00pm, [redacted] arrived at the Palm Beach Police Department. She was brought into the interview room and the door was closed for privacy. She was told that I appreciated her coming to the police station for questioning regarding an on going investigation. She was told that I was investigating a crime involving Jeffrey Epstein and knew, based on the investigation, that she had encounters with him in the past. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she had met Epstein approximately two years ago. She was first introduced to Epstein by [redacted] [redacted]. [redacted] approached her about working for Epstein and providing a massage to him for $200.00. The arrangements were made and as [redacted] could not take her the day the arrangements were made, [redacted] took [redacted] also attended [redacted] [redacted] and was familiar with Epstein.

[redacted] recalled she was brought there and entered through the back kitchen door. She had met with an assistant [redacted] and another assistant [redacted]. [redacted] brought her upstairs as she observed several photographs of naked females throughout the house. [redacted] stated Epstein came in the room, wearing only a towel, and laid on the table. [redacted] stated he picked out the oils he wanted her to use and requested she remove her clothing to provide the massage. [redacted] stated that on the first massage she provided she did not remove her

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clothing. [redacted] stated she had returned several times after that. Each time she returned more things happened. [redacted] stated that the same thing would happen. Epstein would walk into the master bedroom/bathroom area wearing only a towel. He would masturbate as she provided a massage. [redacted] stated she was unsure if he climaxed as he masturbated under the towel. Additionally she never looked blow his waist. She claimed that Epstein would convince her to remove her clothes. She eventually removed her clothes and stayed in her thong panties. On occasion, Epstein would use a massager/vibrator, which she described as white in color with a large head, on her. Every time she provided a massage he would masturbate. [redacted] added she has no formal training in providing a massage. [redacted] stated she brought two females during her visits to provide massages. [redacted] stated she brought a girl named [redacted] from [redacted] [redacted] stated she received $200.00 for each girl she brought. Additionally, [redacted] was given $200.00 for taking her in the very beginning. The interview was concluded and the tape was placed into evidence.

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Investigation continues...

***************************** N A R R A T I V E # 18 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/13/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/14/05

On November 8, 2005, I made telephone contact with [redacted] W/F, [redacted] at her residence. [redacted] responded to the police station for an interview reference an ongoing investigation. At approximately 2:30 pm, she arrived at the Palm Beach Police Station and was brought into the interview room for the interview. The door was closed for privacy and she was told that I appreciated her cooperation in this case. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she had met Jeffrey Epstein approximately one year ago. She was approached by a subject known to her as [redacted] had asked her if she wanted to make money providing massages to Epstein. [redacted] had heard that several girls from [redacted] were doing this and making money. She agreed and was taken to the house by hall. [redacted] had introduced her to [redacted] and Epstein and brought her upstairs to a master bedroom and Master bathroom where a massage table was prepared and the proper oils were taken out. [redacted] left the room and waited downstairs for [redacted] stated Epstein entered the room wearing a towel and she provided a massage wearing only her thong panties. [redacted] advised Epstein had masturbated every time she provided a massage. She stated Epstein continued to masturbate until he climaxed; once that occurred the massage was over. She felt the whole situation was weird but she advised she was paid $200.00 for providing the massage. She also stated [redacted] received $200.00 for bring [redacted] to Epstein.

[redacted] stated she had gone a total of 15 times to his residence to provide a massage and things had escalated from just providing a

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massage. Epstein began touching her on her buttocks and grabbed her closer to him as he masturbated. Epstein also grabbed her breasts and fondled her breast with his hands as she provided the massage. [redacted] stated on one occasion, he offered extra monies to have vaginal intercourse. She stated this all occurred on the massage table. [redacted] stated Epstein penetrated her vagina with his penis and began having intercourse with her until he reached the point of climax. Epstein removed his penis from her vagina and climaxed onto the massage table. [redacted] received $350.00 for her massage. I asked her if she had any formal training in providing massages, [redacted] stated she did not.

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[redacted] continued to state on one other occasion, Epstein introduced his assistant, [redacted], into the massage. [redacted] was brought into room with [redacted] to provide a massage. Epstein had them kiss and fondle each other around the breasts and buttocks as they provided a massage to Epstein. Epstein, watched and masturbated as this occurred. On other occasions, Epstein introduced the large white vibrator/massager during the massage. Epstein stroked the vibrator/massager on [redacted] vagina as she provided the massage.

[redacted] stated the last time she spoke with anyone at the house, was with [redacted] during the weekend of October 2 or 3, 2005. [redacted] stated she had brought two people to the Epstein house. She provided the names of [redacted] (unknown last name). It should noted, [redacted] had been previously identified as [redacted] and had been previously interviewed. The interview was concluded and the videotape was placed into evidence via the locker system.

On November 9, 2005, Sgt Frick and I traveled to 6791 Fairway Lakes Drive in Boynton Beach, Florida in hopes to interview Juan Alessi, the former houseman of Epstein's home. As no one was home, a business card was left for him to return my call. We then traveled to 11349 SW 86th Lane in Miami in hopes to interview Alfredo Rodriguez, a former house man of Epstein. We did not locate them at home. I left a business card for him to return my call.

We then traveled to [redacted] and met with Dean of Students, [redacted] [redacted]. We requested to speak with [redacted] was re interviewed, as she still was in possession of the rental car that Epstein had acquired for her. [redacted] stated that [redacted], Epstein's assistant, had called her on her cellular telephone and informed her that rental was extended for her. [redacted] stated she had paid an additional $625.00 for her to keep the rental an extra month. [redacted] was asked if she had any additional contact with either Epstein or anyone from his organization. [redacted] stated she did not, other than the telephone call informing her that she could keep the car for an extra month. [redacted] did not provide any additional information.

On November 10, 2005, at approximately 9:47 am, Alfredo Rodriguez had telephoned reference my business card found on his door. Rodriguez stated he had worked with Epstein for approximately six months after the previous houseman left. Rodriguez stated that it was his responsibility to keep the identity of the masseuses private. Mr. Epstein had a massage in the morning and one in the afternoon. Mr. Rodriguez stated he would rather speak about this in private. He advised he would come to the police station to speak with me. Rodriguez stated he would return my call on Monday, November 14, 2005.

I then made telephone contact with Juan Alessi. He advised he found my card on his door and wanted to know what I needed to speak with him about. I explained to Alessi that I was conducting an investigation on his former employer, Mr. Epstein. Alessi stated he would return my call shortly as he was in the middle of a project at his home. I received a telephone call from Attorney Donald Morrell from 686-2700. Mr. Morrell stated he represented Mr. Alessi and did not want me speaking with his client. I then made telephone contact with the State Attorney s Office and confirmed that subpoenas would be issued to the former employees to assist in the investigation.

I then made telephone contact with Attorney Guy Fronstin, attorney for Mr. Epstein. I explained to Mr. Fronstin that I would like to speak with Mr. Epstein. He stated Mr. Epstein is not in residence in Florida at this time and would check with him to ascertain if he could be here by Wednesday November 16, 2005 for an interview. Mr. Fronstin stated he would return my call should Mr. Epstein decide to come in to the police station for an interview.

Investigation continues.

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 19 ***************************

NA
Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/15/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/16/05

On November 14, 2005, Det. Sandman and I traveled to [redacted] [redacted] Florida and spoke with [redacted] She was told of the ongoing investigation involving Epstein. [redacted] advised she had gone to the house on several occasions. During a sworn taped statement, she advised she started going to the house approximately one year ago and was brought by [redacted] (Unknown last name). [redacted] stated [redacted] brought her into the house and she was introduced to a girl named [redacted]. Once she met her, [redacted] brought her upstairs into a master bedroom bathroom. [redacted] stated she met Jeffrey in the bathroom. He lay on the table and picked the massage oils. She provided the massage, as he lay naked on the massage bed. She stated she rubbed his calves and back area. Upon the end of the massage, Epstein removed himself from the massage table and paid her $300.00 for the massage.

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[redacted] stated she had only been at the house approximately five or six times. [redacted] said each time she went to the house she was notified by [redacted], Epstein's assistant, that Epstein was in town and would like her to work. [redacted] stated she returned to the house and was again led upstairs by [redacted]. She provided the massage, clothed.

[redacted] advised it wasn't really weird until later on. [redacted] was asked if she ever removed her clothing to provide a massage. [redacted] stated it was not until the third time she went that she removed her clothing. [redacted] stated she was notified by [redacted] that Epstein wanted her to come to work. She arrived at the house and was led upstairs by [redacted]. She started providing the massage when Epstein asked her to remove her clothing. [redacted] removed her pants, shirt and bra. She stayed in her thong panties and continued rubbing Epstein. Epstein turned over onto his back and she rubbed his chest area. [redacted] stated she knew he was masturbating himself as she providing the massage. [redacted] stated she believed he climaxed based on his breathing. She did not want to view either the climax or the fact that he was masturbating. [redacted] stated once the breathing relaxed he got up and told her to get dressed. She was paid $300.00 for her services.

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[redacted] stated on the last time she went to provide a massage, she was notified by [redacted] to come to the house and work. [redacted] stated she was now dating her current boyfriend and did not feel comfortable going. She recalled it was approximately January 2005. She said she went, already thinking that this would be the last time. She went upstairs and went into the master bathroom. She met with Epstein, who was wearing only a towel as he entered the room to lie on the table. [redacted] stated Epstein caught her looking at the clock on several occasions. Epstein asked her if she was in a hurry. [redacted] stated her boyfriend was in the car waiting for her. [redacted] further stated that Epstein got upset, as she wasn't enjoying the massage. She told him that she didn't want to continue and she would not be back. Epstein told her to leave as she was ruining his massage. I asked her if she had any contact with Epstein's organization, she stated she received $200.00 from Western Union in Royal Palm Beach and Okeechobee Blvd as a Christmas gift. [redacted] advised she had no formal training in provide any massages. [redacted] also stated she was sixteen years old when she first went to Epstein's house.

At approximately 4:22 pm, I made telephone contact with [redacted] at [redacted] She agreed to meet with me at a public place. I suggested she come to the police station for an interview. [redacted] did not want to meet at the police station. I recommended we meet at the Palm Beach Gardens Mall in the food court area. She agreed and an appointment was made for November 15, 2005 at 5:00 pm at the food court.

Investigations Continue.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 20 ****************************

NA Reported By: SANDMAN, JENNIFER R. 11/16/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/17/05

On 10/20/2005, I assisted executing a search warrant at 358 El Brillo Way in the Town of Palm Beach, Palm Beach County Florida under the direction of affiant Detective Joe Recarey.

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Detective Melnichok and I searched the pantry room that is west next to the kitchen. This room had all white cabinets with a dark grey and black counter top. We did not find anything in this room.

We searched the yellow and blue room that is west next to the pantry room. This room had a very large statue of man with a bow. Taken into evidence from this room were nine photographs in frames of various women.

We searched the main entrance foyer that is to the north of the yellow and blue room. This room contained two bamboo chairs and ottomans with cushions. It also contained a round table with numerous books.

We searched another blue room that is west of the foyer. This room had a stereo system and book shelves that were from the floor to the ceiling. Taken into evidence from this room were eight photographs in frames of various women and/or Epstein, the owner of the residence.

We searched the room to the west of the blue room that has sliding glass doors that lead out to the pool. In this room in a dresser were two DVD's and two VCR tapes. These items were taken into evidence.

We searched a 2004 black Chevy Suburban bearing Florida tag X99-EGL, registered to Jeffrey Epstein DOB 01/20/53, which was located on the east side of the driveway facing south. I found a Thrifty rental agreement between the passenger seat and the middle console. The name on the rental agreement was Johanna Sjoberg from 622 Holly Drive Palm Beach Gardens, Florida 33410. The phone number on the rental agreement was (561) 714-0546. The vehicle rented was a white 2005 Chrysler Sebring bearing Florida tag W99-FUN. The vehicle was rented on 9/25/05 at 17:58 hours and was returned on 9/26/05 at 16:52 hours. The last four numbers of the credit card used are 9821. Detective Melnichok found a piece of paper in the middle console that said I used the cash in here to fill up the tank and was signed by Johanna.

I searched the 2005 black Cadillac Escalade ESV bearing Florida tag Q29-9GT, registered to Jeffrey Epstein dob 01/20/53, which was located on the west side of the driveway facing south. I did not find anything in this vehicle.

All of the items that were taken into evidence were photographed in the place they were located and then turned over to crime scene.

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 21 *************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/17/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/17/05

On November 15, 2005, Det. Sandman and I traveled to [redacted] [redacted]. We met with [redacted], a seventeen-year old juvenile who was not in school this day due to a cold from which she was suffering. [redacted] was told that I needed to speak with her in reference to an ongoing investigation involving a subject she would know as Jeffrey Epstein. Prior to speaking with her, I explained that because of the fact that she is a minor, I needed to speak with her parents prior to speaking with her. She telephoned her father, Mr. [redacted] on his cell phone and explained to him that Det. Sandman and I were there to speak with her. I spoke with Mr. [redacted] on the telephone and informed him I needed to speak with his daughter in reference to an ongoing investigation. Mr. [redacted] advised he had no problem with us speaking with his daughter.

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During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she met Jeffrey Epstein over a year ago. She was sixteen years of age and was approached by [redacted] who informed her that she could make monies providing a massage to Epstein for $200.00. [redacted] had informed her that she would have to provide this massage topless. [redacted] made the arrangements with Epstein and his assistants and took [redacted] to the house. [redacted] stated [redacted] and she entered through a glass door that led into a kitchen. [redacted] took her upstairs, to a master bedroom and master bathroom. She recalled the bathroom had a large pink couch, sauna and matching shower. Epstein entered into the room wearing only a towel. [redacted] removed their clothing remaining only in thong underwear. She further stated that Epstein lay on his chest on the table. Epstein selected which oils to use for the massage. Both [redacted] provided the massage on his legs, back and feet. Forty minutes into the massage, Epstein turned over onto his back and requested [redacted] wait downstairs in the kitchen area for [redacted] Epstein instructed [redacted] to finish the massage. As [redacted] got dressed, [redacted] starting rubbing his chest. [redacted] left the room, and Epstein began masturbating himself as [redacted] rubbed Epstein s chest. [redacted] stated he continued masturbating until he climaxed on the towel he was wearing. When asked if he had removed the towel she stated he turned the towel around so that the opening would allow him to expose himself. After he cleaned himself off with the towel, he instructed [redacted] the massage was done and to get dressed and met with him downstairs. [redacted] got dressed and met with Epstein in the kitchen area. She was paid $200.00 dollars for providing the massage. [redacted] stated she was aware that [redacted] also received monies for the same thing.

The second time she went to the house she was again approached by [redacted] asked if she wanted to return to the house to provide another massage; [redacted] agreed and the arrangements were made by [redacted] for her to return to the house. [redacted] stated [redacted] drove her to the house and knocked on the same glass door that leads to the kitchen area. They were allowed entry into the house by one of the staff members. [redacted] led her upstairs to the master bedroom and

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master bathroom area. [redacted] left [redacted] this time to do the massage alone. Epstein entered the room again wearing only a towel. [redacted] began removing her clothing as she did the last time she was at the house. Epstein instructed her to get naked. He lay on the table on his stomach as [redacted] began massaging his legs and back.

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As [redacted] finished with Epstein's back and legs, Epstein then turned over onto his back. [redacted] started to rub his chest and he began masturbating himself. As [redacted] rubbed his chest, Epstein leaned over and produced a massager/vibrator. He turned it on and began rubbing [redacted] vagina and masturbating himself at the same time. [redacted] stated she continued to rub his chest as this was occurring. She described the vibrator/massager as large, grey with a large head. Epstein rubbed her vagina for approximately two to three minutes with the massager/vibrator. He then removed the vibrator from her vaginal area and concentrated on masturbating himself. [redacted] stated he climaxed onto the towel again and informed her that the massage was done. [redacted] got dressed and met with [redacted] who was waiting in the kitchen area. She received $200.00 for the massage. [redacted] said she never returned to the house and had no desire to return to the house. [redacted] was asked if she received any formal massage training. She advised she had no formal training. [redacted] was asked if Epstein knew her real age. [redacted] stated he knew as he asked her questions about herself and high school. He was aware she attended and is still attending [redacted].

The interview was concluded. I suggested [redacted] inform her parents of what occurred at the Epstein house. [redacted] stated she would tell her father as he was unaware this had occurred. I left my business card for any questions they may have. We left the area and returned to the police station. The tape was placed into evidence.

Investigation Continues.

*************************** NARRATIVE # 22 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/17/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 11/17/05

On November 15, 2005, Officer Munyan and I responded to the Palm Beach Gardens Mall food court section to meet with [redacted] At approximately 5:10 p.m., [redacted] arrived and met with us at the food court. [redacted] provided a sworn taped statement in which she stated she had been at the Epstein house over fifty times. She began going to Epstein's house when she turned eighteen years old. [redacted] was asked if she knew of the on-going investigation. [redacted] stated she was aware there was an investigation as she had been told by other girls that were interviewed. Additionally, she has had several telephone conversations with Epstein's assistants as to what had been going on during the investigation.

I asked [redacted] how she was introduced to Epstein. [redacted] stated she did not want to disclose who brought her to the house but she would

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respond to any other questions. When I asked her what happened at the house, [redacted] stated everything happened. It all began with the massages. Each time she went more things happened. She would massage Epstein and he would masturbate and climax. She stated things escalated from there. She provided oral sex on Epstein and he provided oral sex on her. She stated he would also use a massager/vibrator on her vagina to stimulate her as she massaged him. He introduced his assistant [redacted] or [redacted] to have vaginal intercourse with [redacted] She stated [redacted] or [redacted] would utilize a strap-on (synthetic penis) to have intercourse with her. She was told to masturbate herself as Epstein and [redacted] had sexual intercourse. All this was done at Epstein's direction. b6 b7C

[redacted] could not provide exact dates as she had been to the house so many times. [redacted] stated Epstein inserted his fingers in her vagina to stimulate her as she massaged him. When I asked her if there had been any vaginal intercourse with Epstein, she stated she did not have sex with him. She did admit having sex with [redacted], his assistant. [redacted] stated not every time she went involved sexual favors. Sometimes she would just talk with him and get paid. I asked her how much she was paid each time she went to Epstein s residence. [redacted] stated she got paid $300.00 every time she went to the house. She was told to bring other girls to him to provide massages. [redacted] declined stating that she does what she does and did not want to introduce anyone else to do what she does. [redacted] stated she had never received any formal training in providing massages.

I showed [redacted] a photo line up in which [redacted] was placed in position six. She reviewed the six photographs and immediately identified [redacted] as the person with whom she had intercourse. Additionally, it was the same person she watched have intercourse with Epstein. She signed the photo line-up under [redacted] s photo as the person she identified. We then left the mall and returned to the police station. The photo line up and tape were placed in to evidence.

Investigation Continues...

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 23 ****************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/29/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/01/05

On November 17, 2005, I received a phone message from Atty. Guy Fronstin who advised to call his cellular phone reference his client Jeffrey Epstein. I telephoned his cell phone and left a message for him to return my call. I did not receive a call back on Thursday, November 17, 2005. On Friday, November 18 2005, I retrieved another voice mail from my work phone from Mr. Fronstin advising he would not produce his client Jeffrey Epstein for any statement. Fronstin stated he had spoken with ASA Lana Belohlavek and expressed Mr. Epstein has a passion for massages. I called ASA Lana Belohlavek and confirmed that

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Fronstin had telephoned her reference this case. Although nothing was discussed, Mr. Fronstin did advise her that Epstein is very passionate about massages.

I also spoke with ASA Daliah Weiss reference the previous employees, Juan and Maria Alessi. She advised that they had been served through a subpoena process server. They were both scheduled to appear on Monday November 21, 2005 at 12:00 p.m.

On November 21, 2005, I met with ASA Weiss, Atty. Donnie Murrell and Juan and Maria Alessi at the State Attorney Office. ASA Weiss had requested a court reporter to be present to take the statement of the Alessi s. I spoke with Maria Alessi, in the presence of her attorney, Donnie Murrell. She advised she had worked for Epstein for eight years, from the period of 1994 through 2002. She advised she had never had any direct conversations with him. She stated it was her husband who spoke directly with Epstein. Her work consisted of doing house cleaning, shopping and other preparations when Epstein would arrive in town. Alessi stated the preparations consisted of preparing the house and bathrooms for his arrival. She advised she did view several masseuses that arrived at the house. She advised that two or three girls would come during a day and provide the massages. The girls that arrived looked young in age. Mrs. Alessi did not know any of the girls personally and were always different. She was told that when Epstein was in residence he did not want to encounter the Alessis during his stay in Palm Beach.

I then spoke with Mr. Alessi in the presence of his attorney, Donnie Murrell. Mr. Alessi stated that he was employed for eleven years with Mr. Epstein. He originally was hired as a part time employee and then moved up into a full time position. His duties included everything. Alessi stated he was the house manager, driver and house maintenance person. It was his responsibility to prepare the house for Epstein s arrival. When asked about cooks or assistants, Alessi stated they traveled with Epstein on his private plane. He remembered dealing with his girlfriend, Ms. Maxwell originally and then dealt with Epstein directly.

I asked Mr. Alessi about massages that occurred within the home. Mr. Alessi stated Mr. Epstein had up to three massages a day. Each masseuse that visited the house was different. Alessi stated that towards the end of his employment, the masseuses were younger and younger. When asked how young, Mr. Alessi stated they appeared to be sixteen or seventeen years of age at the most. The massages would occur in Epstein's bedroom or bathroom. There were times he recalled that he would set up the massage tables either in Epstein s bedroom or in his bathroom. I asked if there were things going on other than a massage. Alessi stated that there were times towards the end of his employment that he would have to wash off a massager/vibrator and a long rubber penis, which were in the sink after the massage. Additionally, he stated the bed would almost always have to be made after the massage. Alessi was never privy to what went on during the

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massages.

He was asked if he remembered any names of the girls that massaged Epstein. He tried to remember and was unable to provide any exact names of any girls. Alessi was asked about any contact with anyone from the Epstein organization. Alessi said he did speak with Mr. Epstein shortly after my initial contact with him to find out what was going on. Alessi also stated that approximately on November 11, 2005, he was contacted by a private investigator from the Law Office of Roy Black. The investigator had called him to meet with him to ascertain what he was going to tell the police. Alessi stated they met at the Carrabba s Restaurant in Boynton Beach and discussed the same questions I was asking him. I informed Mr. Alessi and Mr. Morrell that as this is an ongoing investigation and anything we discuss should be confidential. They both acknowledged the fact that the information would be kept confidential. It should be noted that a court reporter was present during the interviews and would be providing a copy of the statements to me when they become available.

On November 21, 2005, I received a voice mail from Mr. Fronstin who advised he would not be making Mr. Epstein available for any statements. He did have some words that he wanted to relay on behalf of Mr. Epstein. I telephoned his office and left a message for him to return my call.

On November 29, 2005, I received a call back from Mr. Fronstin who left a voice mail after hours on November 28, 2005, advising he would return my call during normal business hours to speak with me reference the case on November 29, 2005.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 24 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 11/29/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/01/05

On November 29, 2005, at approximately 2:30 p.m. I received a telephone call on the department issued cell phone. Mr. Fronstin stated he was calling to relay information that Mr. Epstein wished he could relay. Mr. Fronstin stated that he would not allow Mr. Epstein to speak with me at this time. He further stated that Mr. Epstein is very passionate about massages. He continued that Mr. Epstein had allegedly donated over $100,000 to the Ballet of Florida for massages. The massages are therapeutic and spiritually sound for him that is why he has had many massages. Mr. Fronstin stated he appreciated the way the investigation has not been leaked out into the media. I explained to Mr. Fronstin that it is as important to protect the innocent if the allegations are not substantiated. Mr. Fronstin was told of the allegations that the private investigators assigned to the case have been portraying themselves as police officers. Additionally, I explained that my cell phone had been called by the private investigators. Mr. Fronstin advised he was not aware of that and advised they were under the direction of Attorney Roy Black in

Miami. Mr. Fronstin further stated Epstein had originally called Mr. Dershorwitz in Boston, who recommended Roy Black in Miami, who asked Mr. Fronstin to assist. I informed him that if and when any charges would be presented I would notify him. The call was then terminated.

Investigation continues.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 25 ***************************

NA
Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 12/15/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/16/05

A review of the telephone message books, which were obtained during the search warrant, was conducted in which various messages from different dates were made to Jeffrey Epstein. The telephone message books have a duplicate copy (Carbon Copy) which, once a phone message is written into the book, the top copy is then torn on the perforated edge and the carbon copy is left in the book. First names of girls, dates and telephone numbers were on the copy of the messages. I recognized various numbers and names of girls that had already been interviewed. The body of the messages was time of the day that they called for confirmation of "work." Other names and telephone numbers were located in which the body of the messages were, "I have girls for him" or "I have 2 girls for him." These messages were taken by [redacted] for Jeffrey Epstein. Based on the context of the body of the messages, I requested subpoenas for subscriber information on the telephone numbers and the time frame involved. Copies of the messages were made for evidentiary purposes.

I obtained [redacted] yearbooks for 2005, 2004 and 2003. I first reviewed the 2005 yearbook and located most of the girls I had spoken with. Additionally, I located [redacted]. Based on the corrected name spelling, I was able to locate her to her residence in [redacted]. On December 8, 2005, Det. Caristo and I responded to [redacted]. I located [redacted] at her home. She advised she is attending [redacted] and is participating in the early release program so she can maintain her part time job. As she is still a minor, I left my business card to have her mother return my call to request an interview with her daughter. We then left the area.

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I also had previously researched the telephone number for [redacted] and telephone number [redacted]. A subpoena had been issued for the information on [redacted] The telephone number was registered to [redacted] A query of [redacted] revealed that she is the daughter of [redacted] and is currently residing at [redacted] in West Palm Beach. Det. Caristo and I attempted contact with [redacted] with negative results. I left my business card on her front door requesting she return my call. We then responded to [redacted] in West Palm Beach. I also attempted contact with Mr. [redacted] with negative results. I left my business card for him to return my call.

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On December 9, 2005, I received a telephone call from [redacted] [redacted] mother, who was made aware of the on going investigation in Palm Beach. [redacted] advised she was told of everything that occurred at Epstein's house involving Epstein and his staff. She advised she would allow me to question her daughter about what occurred and would cooperate with the investigation. [redacted] provided me with [redacted] cellular telephone number to schedule an appointment for an official interview. I telephoned her cellular telephone and made a tentative appointment for Monday, December 12, 2005.

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I then received a telephone call from [redacted], father of [redacted] [redacted] who stated he found the business card on his door. I explained that I was conducting an investigation and needed to speak with [redacted] as she may have information that could assist in the investigation. Mr. [redacted] stated that his daughter no longer resides with him and has her own trailer in another trailer park. He advised he would tell her to call me.

On December 12, 2005, due to a conflict with schedules, arrangements were made to meet with [redacted] on Tuesday, December 13, 2005 at 5:00 pm. On December 13, 2005, Det. Dawson and I traveled to [redacted] and met with [redacted] During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated that when she was sixteen years old, she was taken to Epstein's house to provide a massage for money. [redacted] stated it was before Christmas last year when [redacted] approached her and asked if she needed to make money for Christmas; [redacted] stated she did and agreed to provide a massage for money. [redacted] made arrangements to take [redacted] to the house and drove [redacted] to the house to "work." [redacted] stated she could not remember the street name but would be able to drive to the street. They drove to the last house on the street and pulled in the last house on left side. They walked up the driveway and entered through a side gate which led to a kitchen door. They knocked on the door and were encountered by an employee who [redacted] described as a "Spanish looking lady." They informed her that they were expected. They were then encountered by a white female with long blond hair. [redacted] was unable to remember the name of the white female with blond hair but knew she was Epstein's assistant. She was led upstairs by the white female who explained that there would be lotions out already and Epstein would choose the lotion he wanted her to use. She was led through a spiral staircase which led to a master bedroom and bathroom. The massage table was already set up in the bathroom. [redacted] described the bathroom as a large spacious bathroom with a steam room and shower beside it with a sink to the right. [redacted] was introduced to Jeff who was on the phone when she entered. Jeff was wearing a white towel and lay on his stomach so that [redacted] may massage his feet and calves. [redacted] started the massage with the massage oil Jeff chose and rubbed his feet and calves. Jeff got off the phone and requested she massage his back as well. [redacted] began rubbing his back and got to the small of his back. During the rubbing of his back Jeff asked her to get comfortable. He

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requested she remove her pants and shirt. [redacted] removed her shirt and pulled her pants off. [redacted] stayed in her bra and thong panties. As she finished the small of the back, Jeff then turned onto his back. He instructed she rub his chest and pinch his nipples. As she began to rub his chest, Jeff asked her questions about herself. [redacted] remembered telling him she attended [redacted] [redacted]. Jeff asked her if she was sexually active. Before [redacted] could answer, he also asked what sexual positions does she enjoy. [redacted] stated she was shy didn't like talking about those things. She continued rubbing his chest. Epstein reached up and unsnapped her bra from the front. [redacted] explained the bra she used had a front snapping device. Epstein rubbed her breasts and asked her if she like having her breasts rubbed. [redacted] said "no, I don't like that." Epstein then removed his towel and lay on the bed naked exposing his penis to [redacted] He began touching his penis and masturbated as he touched her breasts. [redacted] explained Jeff then touched her vagina area by rubbing her vagina with his fingers on the outside of her thong panties. [redacted] tensed up and stated Jeff was aware that she was uncomfortable. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that Jeff told her , "Relax, I'm not going inside." She further explained Jeff commented to her how beautiful and sexy she was. Jeff then moved her thong panties to one side and now was stroking her clitoris. [redacted] said "Jeff commented how hard my clit was." He then inserted two fingers in her vagina and was stroking her within her vagina. She tried pulling back to pull out his fingers from within her vagina. Jeff removed his fingers from within her vagina and apologized for putting his fingers inside her. During this time he kept his hand on her vagina area rubbing her vagina. [redacted] stated he rubbed her real hard as he was masturbating. [redacted] said he climaxed onto the towel he had been previously wearing and got up from the table. Jeff told her there was $200.00 dollars for her on the dresser within the master bathroom. Jeff also told her that there was an additional $100.00 that was to be given to [redacted] for bringing her there to massage him. Jeff told her to leave her telephone number with his assistant as he wanted to see her again. Jeff stated his assistant would contact her to work again soon.

I asked her if she ever received any formal massage training to which [redacted] stated she did not. [redacted] stated it was the only time she ever went to work for Jeff and knew what happened to her was wrong. She stated she no longer speaks to [redacted] because she was upset that [redacted] took her there. She further stated that she had never been contacted for any additional work. The interview was terminated and we left the area.

Investigation Continues...

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 26 **************************

NA Reported By: DICKS, ALLEN C. 12/18/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/19/05

Case No. . . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)

On 102005 at approx 0930hrs I assisted with the execution of a search warrant at 358 El Brillo Ave, Palm Beach.

Initially I was assigned to enter the residence and conduct a sweep of the premises for safety purposes. I then accompanied CSEU tech Pavlik while she photographed the exterior of the house. Once this was complete I was assigned to search certain areas of the house with Det. Dawson as part of the search warrant.

We began in the garage, searching three Mercedes Benz vehicles, a Harley Davidson motorcycle and adjacent closets in the garage. Nothing of evidentiary value was located.

We then searched two closets off the kitchen area on the east side. These can best be described as pantry or storage closets. Nothing of evidentiary value was obtained.

A small office with adjoining bath was then searched. In the bath area I located a phone message book with recent messages. This item was seized as evidence. Please note this bath and shower area are not used as designed but are storage areas containing a variety of items to include a gun safe in the shower and assorted household items.

We then searched a bath area and closet at the base of the main stairs in the foyer. Inside the closet two massage tables were located as well as partial nude female photographs. These items were later seized as evidence. Nothing of evidentiary value was noted in the bathroom.

We then searched two bedrooms upstairs on the east side of the residence. Located in the bath room of the south bedroom was penis shaped soap. Located in the bedroom of the northern bedroom was penis and vagina shaped soap as well as an adult sex toy. These items were seized as evidence.

We then searched the pool cabana located in the south west corner of the property. Several photographs of nude females were seized as evidence.

I was then assigned to stand by with a person I believe was Douglas Schoettle. Mr. Schoettle was in the residence at the beginning of the search warrant. He was present during the warrant service and subsequent search. I stood by with him until the search was completed and I departed the residence. I had no conversation with him regarding the reason for our presence.

Regarding seized evidence, all items were photographed in place and then collected by CSEU personnel.

This concludes my involvement in this case.

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 27 **************************

NA Reported By: KRAUEL, CURTIS D. 12/21/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/21/05

On Thursday, October 20, 2005 at approximately 0936 hours, I assisted in the execution of a search warrant located at 358 El Brillo Way, Palm Beach, Florida, residence of Jeffrey Epstein. I was instructed by Case Agent Det. Joseph Recarey, to secure all computer and media related material from the residence.

Upon my arrival I was directed by Det. Recarey to a room designated as the Kitchen Staff Office. I observed a, Silver in color, CPU with the left side cover removed, exposing the CPU s hardware sitting on floor next to a glass type desk. The CPU had no discernable identifiers or features indicating a make or model. This CPU was powered off with the power cord not plugged in. The keyboard and mouse were atop the CPU. It should be noted that the CPU was not connected to a monitor, printer, or other media device. On the back Panel of the CPU, I observed an A/V card with RCA jacks attached. This type of hardware would allow audio and video to be downloaded onto the CPU s hard disk. The ends of the RCA jacks were unattached at the time of the search and no external camera was located within this room.

The CPU was located on the right side of a desk that held a flat panel LCD screen. The desk also held another keyboard and mouse, indicative of a second computer; however, no other computer was found. It appeared as though a second computer had been recently removed as the cables ends from the monitor, keyboard and mouse were in the same area. A further search of the room revealed no media storage devices, i.e. CD s, Floppy Disks, Zip Disks, etc. This type of media is commonly stored in an area where computers are placed, yet no media was found.

After completing a search of this room, I secured the CPU and turned all items over to the Evidence Custodian for future forensic analysis via a property receipt.

I was then directed by Det. Recarey to a room designated as the Garden Room, where I observed a wooden desk facing west. The desk held a flat screen LCD monitor, keyboard, mouse, media card reader and printer; however, no CPU was located. All of the cables were removed from an area where a computer had once been. A search of the desk area revealed no signs of any media devices.

Det. Recarey directed me to a third location designated as the Cabana room, which is detached from the residence and located just south of the pool. In the South East corner of the room, I observed an office type setting, with an L-shaped desk holding a flat screen LCD monitor, keyboard, mouse and printer; however, no CPU was located. All of the cables were removed from an area where a computer had once been. A search of the desk area revealed no signs of any media devices.

Det. Recarey directed me to a second detached structure located on the South East corner of the property. This area of this structure was assigned with single letters to identify a particular part of the room. In the office area, designated as Room B, I observed a powered on Dell Dimension 2350, attached to an LCD flat panel monitor. The screen displayed an open Microsoft Internet Explorer browser with URL address of http://home.bellsouth.net/. I observed no other active windows in the Start panel window and photographed screen. The power cord was removed from the back of the Dell CPU and I disconnected the cable modem to prevent remote access. At that time, the Dell CPU, marked with Serial Number 6WTVN21, was secured and turned over the evidence custodian for future forensic analysis via property receipt. I also located several media related items within Room B, which were recorded onto a property receipt and turned over the Evidence Custodians.

I then responded to a Bedroom designated as Room F, where I observed a white in color CPU marked Premio. The Premio CPU was in a computer desk which held a white CRT monitor, both of which were powered on. The CRT monitor displayed a message from Norton Antivirus software, warning of an expired subscription. I observed no other active windows in the Start panel window and photographed screen. I removed the power cable from the back of the Premio CPU and shutdown all other media. The Premio CPU, marked with Serial Number 2000091078, was secured and turned over the evidence custodian for future forensic analysis via property receipt. I also located several media related items within Room F, which were recorded onto a property receipt and turned over the Evidence Custodians.

This concluded my participation in the search of the residence.

************************** N A R R A T I V E # 28 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 12/21/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/21/05

On December 20, 2005, I contacted ASA Daliah Weiss in an attempt to subpoena the Epstein former houseman, Alfredo Rodriguez. Rodriguez, who resides in Miami, had eluded the process servers previously and was not served the investigative subpoena. A telephone message was left as she is not available during the week of 12/19/2005. I made contact with State Attorney Inv Theresa Wyatt and requested the same via telephone message.

I then researched the victim's [redacted] cellular telephone subpoena data
which had been received from a previous subpoena request. I analyzed b6
the records which depict several calls from [redacted]. The b7C
telephone calls start on February 6, 2005 at 12:49 pm.; the same day
which the victim and the victim's father stated the incident occurred
at Epstein s house. The first incoming call was from [redacted]'s
residence at [redacted] The second incoming call from [redacted]s

cellular phone [redacted] occurred at 1:02 pm. The call durations were one minute or less. The time frame was within thirteen minutes apart. It should be noted that [redacted] s residence was in close proximity to the victim's. The next call occurred at 5:50 pm when the victim telephoned [redacted] s residence. Several calls were made after the above mentioned calls both incoming and outgoing to [redacted]. Further analysis showed no telephone calls to either [redacted] cellular telephone or [redacted] residence were registered prior to February 6, 2005. b6 b7C

Additionally, I also conducted an analysis on the telephone calls from 305-710-5165. The subscriber information confirmed that the number is registered to Paul A Lavery from Hialeah, Florida. The address was crossed referenced to the Office of Kiraly and Riley Private Investigators. I researched the web page www.rileykiraly.com which also showed various cases in which they assisted. I also located another web site under www.coralspringssparklandrotary.org in which Mr. Riley attended a Miami Rotary meeting and confirmed Atty. Roy Black is among his clientele.

The telephone calls revealed Lavery had telephone contact with [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] either just after I attempted to interview them, or just prior. A background was conducted on Lavery which revealed he holds a current Private Investigator License. A criminal arrest record revealed he had been previously arrested for possession of cocaine and solicitation of prostitution. b6 b7C

I also researched the girls using www.myspace.com. This web site is a new social networking service that allows members to create unique personal profiles online in order to find and communicate with old and new friends. The site allows one to establish your own myspace.com page and decorate the page any way one wishes. I found the following people have myspace sites: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] b6 b7C

I received a Cingular Wireless packet which contained a CD which contained the results of the subpoena request for verbatim calls on [redacted] An analysis will be conducted in the near future on the phone numbers called. b6 b7C

Investigation Continues.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 29 ***************************
NA
Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 12/27/05
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 12/29/05

Upon doing research on the message books recovered in the search warrant, I located the identity of [redacted] The telephone number [redacted] was registered to [redacted]. She currently is seventeen years old and is attending [redacted]. I b6 b7C

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responded to [redacted] [redacted]. I located the [redacted]. I located [redacted] [redacted] and informed her that I was investigating a case against Jeffrey Epstein and knew she had been at the house. [redacted] started to cry and advised she had put that part of her life behind her. I explained that although she is seventeen years old I needed to inform her parents that she would be interviewed. She provided her home telephone number. I attempted contact and left voice mail messages at the house to speak with her parents.

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b7C

Det. Caristo and I then located [redacted] at her residence located at [redacted] in West Palm Beach. I attempted to interview her about Jeffrey Epstein. She advised she is so in love with Jeff Epstein and would do anything for him. She further explained that she would not speak with us about him either negative or positive. She asked us to leave her property. I informed her that although she did not wish to speak with us, I had sufficient information at this point in the investigation to know she was at Epstein's house and provided girls to Epstein to work. I also explained that prior to our arrival at her residence I had telephone contact with her father, [redacted] [redacted] who was told she would be interviewed. [redacted] is currently seventeen years old and as a juvenile, parental notification would be required. We then left the area and returned to the police station.

While at the police station, I left another telephone message for [redacted]. I began an analysis of [redacted] Cellular telephone. The telephone number [redacted] is assigned to [redacted] [redacted] and the financially responsible party is Jeffrey Epstein of 457 Madison Ave. in New York City, New York. The time frame which was subpoenaed was September 2005, through October 2005. There were eighty seven pages of calls made either to the cell phone or from the cell phone. The local (561) numbers were analyzed. A spread sheet was prepared and placed into the attachment file of who was called.

The unknown numbers were researched using FoneFinder.com and subpoenas were requested to determine subscriber information. This was done to identify additional victims or witnesses. The analysis revealed that [redacted] had called the victim/witnesses frequently when Epstein was in the Town of Palm Beach to "work." This confirms what the girls interviewed had previously stated. [redacted] would notify them when Epstein was in town and their willingness to "work." The CD was placed into evidence.

Investigation Continues.

***************************** N A R R A T I V E # 30 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/03/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/03/06

On December 29, 2005, I received a facsimile from National Compliance

Center from Cingular Wireless for telephone number [redacted] This was the telephone number for [redacted] during the time frame when the victim, [redacted] was brought to the Epstein house to "work." An analysis of the phone records, of all incoming and outgoing calls, showed that on February 6, 2005, the day the victim, [redacted], [redacted] first called [redacted], Epstein's assistant, at [redacted] at 12:50 pm (EST). The next call was made to Epstein's house in Palm Beach, at 12:52 pm (EST). The following call was made to the victim, [redacted] at 1:01 pm (EST) and at 1:02 pm (EST). This confirms the information provided by the victim and victim's father. I photo copied the records and enlarged the page 8 of 10 to show the calls made by [redacted] on February 6, 2005. b6 b7C

To this date, I have not heard from [redacted] I will attempt to establish contact with them during the evening hours. I received a package from Atty. Guy Fronstin, which was hand delivered at the police station. Within the package, was a letter from Alan Dershowitz, and two www.myspace.com profiles. The profiles were that of [redacted] MySpace.com is a social networking service that allows members to create unique personal profiles online in order to find and communicate with old and new friends. This package was in response to a previous meeting in which Mr. Dershowitz called to assist in the investigation in providing any additional witnesses such as house employees who have been reluctant to speak with law enforcement. b6 b7C

I reviewed the profiles Mr. Dershowitz enclosed. [redacted], who designed her blog to be [redacted]" still attends [redacted], sends and receives messages from friends which contain some profanity. Upon reviewing her friends' comments section from Myspace, most of her good friends sent messages to establish contact and invite her to go out.

I then reviewed [redacted] web blog which was provided by Mr. Dershowitz. Ms. [redacted] designed her blog to be [redacted] Her blog states that her interests include music, theater and weed (Marijuana). I reviewed her packet in which [redacted] declares her love for her live-in boyfriend. She also describes using marijuana with her boyfriend [redacted].

b6 b7C

The letter Mr. Dershowitz sent advised he was looking into the allegation that one of the private investigators used by the private attorneys of Epstein, attempted to impersonate or state that they were police officers from Palm Beach. Mr. Dershowitz advised that the investigators used to interview [redacted] had "quite a distinct speech impediment", did not claim to be nor did they impersonate themselves as a police officer. This package was sent to both ASA Lana Belohlavic and ASA Daliah Weiss at the State Attorney's Office.

I made telephone contact with ASA Weiss to confirm she received the package and request an interview with [redacted] and Janusz Banasiak. She advised she would assist in attempting to

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contact Mr. Dershowitz.

On January 3, 2006, I received a telephone call from ASA Weiss who informed me that she made telephone contact with Mr. Dershowitz. She had requested the employees be available the week of January 3, 2006. Mr. Dershowitz informed her that the assistants are out of the country and would require additional time to locate them and make them available.

Investigation Continues.

*************************** NARRATIVE # 31 ***************************

NA Reported By: MINOT, LORI S. 1/03/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/03/06

On Thursday, 03/31/05, I started conducting surveillance at 358 El Brillo. At this point I observed at 1155 hours, a Tan Altima bearing FL tag A303AN in Roadway, Black SL bearing FL tag V55RFW in drive, Tan Honda Civic bearing FL tag X98APM in Roadway, Black Chevy Suburban in driveway and a Black Caddy Escalade in driveway. At 1325 Hours I observed Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway, Black Chevy Suburban in driveway, Black Caddy Escalade in drive and a White Kia car bearing FL tag D651BQ. At 1615 hours I observed a Tan Honda Civic, X98APM in roadway, Black Chevy Suburban in drive, Black Caddy Escalade in driveway and a White Kia car D651BQ in roadway.

On Friday, 04/01/05, I continued surveillance at 358 El Brillo. At 1130 hours I observed a Tan Honda Civic bearing FL tag X98APM in roadway, Black Caddy Escalade in driveway and a Tan unknown make/model bearing FL tag A303AN in roadway. At 1227 hours, I observed a Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway, Black Caddy Escalade in driveway and a Black Chevy SUV located behind the Escalade. At 1345 hours, I observed a Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway and a Black Chevy SUV in driveway. At 1558 hours, I observed a Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway, Black Chevy SUV in driveway, Black Caddy Escalade in driveway and a dark unknown model/make car parked in garage.

On Saturday, 04/02/05, I continued surveillance at 358 El Brillo. At 0713 hours, I observed a Red Explorer bearing FL tag J98JEI in roadway and a Black Caddy Escalade in driveway. At 0814 hours, I observed a Red Explorer J98JEI in roadway, Black Caddy Escalade in driveway and a Tan Honda Civic X98APM. At 0952 hours, I observed a Red Explorer J98JEI in roadway, Black Caddy Escalade in driveway, Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway and also a Grey unknown make/model with a B.M in trunk retrieving landscaping tools.

At 1155 hours, I observed a Grey Camaro bearing FL tag X88EFF, parking in the roadway in front of 358 El Brillo. A W/F, blond hair, teens to early 20's, thin and tall wearing a white tank top and short blue jean shorts, exited the vehicle and walked to the rear of the house. I also observed a Red Explorer J98JEI in roadway, Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway and a Black Caddy Escalade in driveway. At 1310 hours, I

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observed a Red Explorer W/F driver leaving the area, Tan subcompact on roadway and a Red Neon bearing FL tag J10GRV. Then observed 3 W/Fs, approximately 16 to 18 years of age jogging. All 3 females ran into the driveway. There were 2 with blond hair and one brown hair.

On Sunday, 04/03/05, I continued surveillance at 358 El Brillo. At 0719 hours I observed a Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway and a Black Caddy Escalade. At 0934 hours, I observed a Tan Honda Civic X98APM in roadway and a Black Caddy Escalade in driveway. At 1057 hours I observed only the Tan Honda Civic X98APM.

On Tuesday, 04/05/05, I continued surveillance at 358 El Brillo. At 1052 hours, I observed a Red Explorer J98JEI in roadway, a Green Explorer, bearing FL tag F91KAK in roadway, a Grey Altima bearing FL tag A303AN in roadway, White Ford Truck H58LRA in roadway, Black Mercedes in driveway being washed by a B/M and an unknown dark car parked in the garage. At 1059 hours a Blue Chevy Suburban drove to the house of 358 El Brillo and parked in the driveway. At 1119 hours, I observed the White Fort Truck H58LRA leave the area and the drive was the pool man.

At 1126 hours, I observed a Grey unknown make/model car park in roadway. W/M got out of the car and walked to a house on the south side of El Brillo. At 1406 hours, I observed a Red Explorer parked on roadway and a large white box truck parked behind the surveillance suburban.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 32 **************************

NA Reported By: BATES, MICHAEL J. 1/03/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/03/06

On 03/31/05, at approximately 1500 hours while conducting surveillance at 358 El Brillo, I observed a Black Cadillac Escalade, unknown tag, a Black Chevrolet Suburban, unknown tag, a Black Mercedes S600 FL tag U90BQL parked in the east driveway next to the 3-car garage. There was a Tan Honda Civic FL tag X98APM parked on the street in front of the residence.

At approximately 1700 hours, I observed the Black Suburban, Black Escalade, Black Mercedes and Tan Honda Civic parked in the same place. At 1750 hours, there was no change in vehicles. At 1840 hours, I observed the Black Escalade, Black Suburban and Black Mercedes along with a Silver Hyundai Accent FL tag A136AN all parked in the east driveway and a Red Ford Explorer FL tag J98JEI parked on the street in front of the residence.

At 2000 hours, I observed the Black Escalade, Black Suburban parked in the ease driveway and the Red Explorer and Tan Civic parked on the street.

On Friday, 04/01/05 at approximately 1700 hours, I observed the Black

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Escalade and Black Suburban parked in the east driveway and the Tan Honda Civic parked on the street in front of the residence. At 1820 hours, I observed the Suburban and Civic in the same place and a Gold Chevrolet Camaro FL tag X88EFF parked on the street in front of the residence. At 2250 there was no change. At 2330, I observed the Black Escalade parked in the driveway and the Red Explorer parked on the street in front of the residence.

On Saturday, 04/02/05 at approximately 1700 hours, I observed a Black Escalade, unknown tag, parked in the driveway and a Tan Honda Civic FL tag X98AMP parked in the street in front of the residence. At 1805 hours the Escalade and Civic were in the same position and the Black Mercedes FL tag U90BQL was also parked in the east driveway. At 1920 hours the Escalade and Civic were the only vehicles and both were in the same position. At 2030 hours and 2145 hours there were no vehicles observed.

At 2115 hours, I observed a Black Mercedes, 4-door parked in the east driveway FL tag G14CT. At 2300 hours, 2350 hours and 0045 hours, the Black Mercedes was the only vehicle observed.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 33 **************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/05/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/05/06

I made contact with Mr. [redacted] father of [redacted] who was told that I wished to interview his daughter. Mr. [redacted] stated he was aware and had spoken with his daughter about the incident. He stated that his daughter had previously told him that she was hired to model lingerie at a Palm Beach mansion. Mr. [redacted] stated he knew nothing else about what she did when she went to "work." Mr. [redacted] advised he would cooperate with the investigation and make his daughter available for interviews. I asked if she was available for an interview, [redacted] stated she was not at home at the moment. I informed him I would make contact with her at a later time. Mr. [redacted] expressed his interest in the resolution in this matter as he stated this information has affected his daughter emotionally.

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On January 4, 2005, I acquired the subpoenas from the State Attorney's Office for Cingular Wireless, Metro PCS, Verizon, Bell South Telecommunications and Sprint for the unknown telephone numbers from [redacted] cellular telephone. The subpoenas were sent to the respective telephone carriers for subscriber information.

I received a telephone call from State Attorney's Office, who informed me that the former houseman for Jeffrey Epstein, Alfredo Rodriguez, was present at the State Attorney's Office for an interview. Rodriguez was issued an investigative subpoena for an interview on the on-goings at Epstein's house during his employ. I responded to the State Attorney's Office and encountered Mr. Rodriguez waiting in the lobby. I brought Mr. Rodriguez to the interview room.

During a sworn taped statement, Mr. Rodriguez stated he was employed by Jeffrey Epstein for approximately six months. He was referred by associates and his employment lasted the months of November 2004 through May 2005. His responsibilities as house manager included being the butler, chauffer, chef, houseman, run errands for Mr. Epstein and provide for Epstein's guests. Rodriguez advised he had very limited contact with Mr. Epstein. If Rodriguez needed to relay a message to Mr. Epstein, he would have to notify Epstein's secretary "Leslie" in New York City, who would then notify Epstein's personal assistant, [redacted] who would relay the message to Epstein. Rodriguez stated Epstein did not want to see or hear the staff when he was in residence.

I asked Rodriguez if Epstein received many guests during his stay in Palm Beach. Rodriguez advised he had many guests. I asked specifically about masseuses coming to the house. Rodriguez stated he would have two massages a day. Epstein would have one massage in the morning and one massage in the afternoon everyday he was in residence. Rodriguez stated he would be informed to expect someone and make them comfortable until either [redacted] or Epstein would meet with them.

Rodriguez stated once the masseuses would arrive, he would allow them entry into the kitchen area and offer them something to drink or eat. They would then be encountered by either [redacted] or Epstein. They would be taken upstairs to provide the massage. I asked Rodriguez if any of the masseuses appeared young in age. He advised he didn't ask their ages but felt they were very young. Rodriguez stated they ate like his own daughter who is in high school. Rodriguez stated they would eat tons of cereal and drink milk all the time. Rodriguez stated the girls that would come appeared to be too young to be masseuses. He stated one time under Epstein's direction, he delivered a dozen roses to [redacted] for one of the girls b6 that came to provide a massage. He knew the girls were still in high b7C school and were of high school age. I asked Rodriguez about the massages. He felt there was a lot more going on than just massages. He would clean Mr. Epstein's bedroom after the alleged massages and would discover massager/vibrators and sex toys scattered on the floor. He also said he would wipe down the vibrators and sex toys and put them away in an armoire. He described the armoire as a small wood armoire which was on the wall close to Epstein's bed.

Epstein ordered Rodriguez to go to the Dollar rent a car and rent a car for the same girl he brought the roses to, so that she could drive her self to Epstein's house without incident. Rodriguez said the girl always needed rides to and from the house. Rodriguez referred himself as a "human ATM machine" and was ordered by Epstein to maintain a minimum balance of $2,000 dollars on him at all times. When a girl would come by the house and Mr. Epstein was either not in residence or was not at home at the time, Rodriguez was to provide the girl (masseuse) several hundred dollars for their time and to notify Epstein the amount they were given. Epstein also ordered Rodriguez to

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purchase several gifts and provide them as tips to the girls. I asked what kind of gifts. Rodriguez stated he purchased IPODS, jewelry, anything the girls would want.

Rodriguez stated the amount of girls that came to the house was approximately fifteen. Each of the girls knew each other and all seemed to know at [redacted] who Mr. Epstein was. When asked to identify these girls, Rodriguez stated he could not at the moment but knew he wrote their names down on a journal he kept during his employ with Mr. Epstein. He kept a journal in the event he needed to explain either to Mr. Epstein or his assistants what was done at the house or who visited the house as he stated he was in-charge of Mr. Epstein's personal security while in Palm Beach. I informed him I would need to view this journal to which he stated he would research the book and contact me to provide the book. The interview was concluded and left the area. I returned back to the police station where the micro cassette was placed into evidence. At approximately 7:20 pm, I was notified Rodriguez located the journal and would call me on January 5, 2005 to provide the journal.

Investigation Continuesàà

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 34 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/09/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/10/06

On January 5, 2006, I attempted to meet with Alfredo Rodriguez to recover the folder or journal in which he kept the notes that were given to him during his employ with Mr. Jeffrey Epstein. He kept this folder to justify what he did during his employ should the need arise to justify what occurred with the monies he had to keep or any questions as to the petty cash he withdrew from the household account from the bank. At approximately 10:00 pm, I attempted contact with Mr. Rodriguez and discovered he was assisting his wife at her place of employment and would not be able to meet with me. Mr. Rodriguez stated he would meet with me on January 6, 2006, in Broward County, in the morning hours. b6 b7C

On January 6, 2006, at approximately 9:00 am, I received a telephone call from Mr. Rodriguez who advised he had the file in hand and would be traveling northbound to meet with me in Broward County. At 10:50 am, I met with Alfredo Rodriguez at the parking lot of Bank of America in Boca Raton on Yamato Road and Military Trail (known as the Polo Center). Rodriguez produced a green folder which contained documents, a note with Mr. Epstein's stationary with direction to deliver a bucket of roses to [redacted] after [redacted] high school drama performance. Also in that same note was direction to rent a car for [redacted] and direction to extend the rental contract. I returned to the Palm Beach Police Station and placed the folder into evidence.

I received a fax from Verizon from the subpoena request sent on

01-04-06, for telephone number [redacted]. The phone number is registered to Dr Perry Bard, from West Palm Beach. Dr. Bard is a chiropractor and has an office located 4275 Okeechobee Blvd in West Palm Beach. The cellular number is Dr Bard's personal cellular number.

On January 9, 2006, Det. Caristo and I traveled to [redacted] in Palm Beach Gardens in an attempt to locate Johanna Sjoberg, who had been previously seen on the property and identified through her Florida Drivers License and Florida license Plate. A business card was left for her to return my call. We then traveled to [redacted] [redacted] and located [redacted] agreed to speak with us and in a private room within the school provided us a taped statement.

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During the statement, [redacted] advised that when she was fifteen or sixteen years of age, she was taken to Jeffrey Epstein's house by her associate, [redacted] stated this occurred late May 2004 or early June 2004. She was told she could model lingerie for money for a wealthy Palm Beacher. She remembered they traveled by yellow cab from their residence in West Palm Beach to Epstein's house. She remembered encountering Epstein at the front door during the evening hours.

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He introduced himself and brought them into the kitchen so that the chef could prepare something for them to eat. After having a meal, [redacted] and Epstein brought [redacted] upstairs to a master bedroom which had a large bathroom. She observed a large style shower, sauna and there was a large massage bed also in the bathroom. Epstein entered a room within the bathroom and came out wearing only a towel. [redacted] said they would provide a massage on his feet. [redacted] asked why they are doing this. [redacted] told her this was part of the routine and told her to rub his legs and calves. Epstein had told [redacted] to get comfortable. [redacted] continued rubbing Epstein's calves and feet. At Epstein's direction, [redacted] then left the room leaving [redacted] there by herself. Epstein told [redacted] to get comfortable. removed her blouse and pants and stayed in her panties. [redacted] stated she was not wearing a bra. She believed she was wearing thong panties. Epstein turned over onto his back and began touching her. Epstein touched her breasts and began touching her in her vagina area. Epstein instructed her to rub his chest and rub his nipples. [redacted] stated the touching consisted over the panties on the first time; he stroked her vagina but stayed on top of the panties. During the first massage, she stated Epstein was stroking her and began masturbating himself at the same time. He put his hands under the towel and appeared as to masturbate himself however she never saw his penis. She continued rubbing his chest until he grabbed her and pulled her closer to him. He appeared to have climaxed because after he pulled her closer to him the massage was over. Epstein had told her that there was two hundred dollars for her on the dresser. He told her that she could not tell anyone what happened at the house or bad things could happen. [redacted] stated she went to Epstein's house three or four times total. [redacted] was very scared and felt very nervous. She knew because of Epstein's money he was powerful. After the massage, Epstein ordered his houseman at the time to drive the girls home. The employee was to drop off the girls at their house and watch them go inside their house.

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[redacted] could not remember who the houseman was. She stated Epstein and his assistant [redacted] would call her at her father's house to arrange for her to come and "work." She advised each time she returned to the house, Epstein would do the same thing. [redacted] stated it was a routine with Epstein. She would rub his feet and calves. He would then turn over and begin to touch her on her vagina area. The only difference was that it was done without panties. Epstein's fingers would stroke her vagina area as he would masturbate and finally climax and the massage would be over. She was paid $200.00 each time she went. Each time she went she was reminded not to speak of what happened at the house and that she would be contacted again. She began to purposely miss the calls when either [redacted] or Epstein would call her. She once brought a friend, [redacted] unknown last name, to work for Epstein. She was paid $200.00 for bringing [redacted] stated she no longer retuned to work for Epstein. She also stated that she wanted to notify the police of what happened at the house. [redacted] stated she was scared of what could have happened to her or her family if she notified authorities.

On January 10, 2006, I received the results from the subpoena from BellSouth Telecommunications for telephone number [redacted] The number is assigned to [redacted] [redacted]. I also received the results from Western Union which confirmed the money order sent to [redacted] from Jeffrey Epstein in New York City. The "wire" was sent by Jeffrey Epstein of 457 Madison Ave in New York City on December 23, 2004 at 12:05 pm. The amount of $222.00 was charged to Epstein's credit card so that [redacted] could receive $200.00 in Royal Palm Beach. The twenty-two dollars was for processing and local fees to send the money via Western Union. A copy of the check presented to [redacted] was also attached to the receipt of the wire. This confirmed what [redacted] advised she received as a Christmas bonus from Epstein.

Investigation continues.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 35 **************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/10/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/10/06

I received and reviewed the Cingular Wireless results from the subpoena requests for subscriber information for telephone numbers [redacted] The first number, [redacted] is assigned to Janusz Banasiak in care of Jeffrey Epstein of 457 Madison Ave in New York City. Banasiak is the current houseman/house manager for 358 El Brillo Way in Palm Beach, Fl 33480. The second number, [redacted], is assigned to [redacted] of

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1685 61st Drive in West Palm Beach. Research conducted on Venero revealed she is a licensed Massage therapist with a Florida conditional/active license number [redacted]. Venero [redacted]. The last number [redacted] is assigned to Thomas Rofrano of 9850 Alt A1A in Palm Beach Gardens. Research on Mr. Rofrano, revealed that he is a Florida Chiropractic Physician.

Vehicles that were previously documented on the property while surveillance was being conducted were researched. I determined a [redacted], bearing Florida license [redacted], was seen on the property in which a young white female was seen entering the Epstein b6
property. Research was conducted which revealed that the vehicle is b7C
registered to [redacted] has two daughters, [redacted] is currently residing in [redacted] is residing with her father in [redacted] [redacted] Research on [redacted] revealed she was recently involved in [redacted]. A request to discover any information from [redacted] was requested.

I spoke with ASA Daliah Weiss who informed me that Janusz Banasiak will be available for an interview tomorrow at the State Attorney's Office in West Palm Beach at 1:30 pm. I informed her that I would be at her office for the interview.

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 36 **************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/23/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/23/06

On January 19, 2006, Det. Caristo and I met with [redacted] at 622 Holly Drive in Palm Beach Gardens. [redacted] was identified as a licensed massage therapist who had previously been seen on Epstein's property when physical surveillance was done. [redacted] was told of the on going investigation and I felt she may have information pertaining to the case. During a sworn taped statement, [redacted] stated she met Epstein three years ago when Ghaline Maxwell approached her while she was attending Palm Beach Atlantic College to work around Epstein's house. Maxwell had told her that they needed some girls to work at the house to answer phones and run errands. [redacted] accepted the job and began working at Epstein's house on El Brillo in Palm Beach. [redacted] stated it was a part time job during the time she went to Palm Beach Atlantic College. She continued going to Epstein's house and would be notified when Epstein would travel to Palm Beach. [redacted] advised she would be notified by Maxwell, Epstein or [redacted] his assistant, when he would travel to Palm Beach. [redacted] stated she began providing massages to Epstein before she became a massage therapist. She continued giving massages not only to Epstein but to [redacted], and [redacted], his assistant. [redacted] was asked about what occurred during the massages. [redacted] stated as she was twenty three years old when she met Epstein, anything that happened was between two consenting adults. I explained to her that she was not in any trouble however as part of this investigation, I needed to ask certain questions. [redacted] stated that there were times that Epstein would ask her to perform during the massage. He would instruct her to rub his nipples as he masturbated himself. [redacted] stated she felt "grossed" about the behavior but as she was getting paid, she just continued. [redacted] also advised she would on occasion perform the massages naked. Epstein would on occasion, utilize the vibrator/massager on her vagina area when she performed the massages. [redacted] explained that Epstein never exposed himself to her as he maintained himself covered under the towel he would be wearing. When Epstein would masturbate he would be covered.

I asked if [redacted] ever received any gifts, or any gratuities from Epstein. [redacted] advised aside from being paid well, she advised Epstein took care of her tuition from Palm Beach Atlantic College. She received a rental car for a week when her scooter broke down.

Additionally she received other gifts from Epstein. Epstein also recommended her to another client who resides at Breakers Row in Palm Beach. The client she was referred to was "Glenn" unknown last name, and his wife, who she provided a massages to. The statement was concluded and placed into evidence upon our return to the Palm Beach Police Department.

While at the police station, I researched Florida tag [redacted] which was also previously seen on the property when there was physical surveillance being done at the property. The vehicle is registered to [redacted], Florida. Researching [redacted] and the vehicle revealed that his daughter, [redacted] [redacted] in Lake Clark Shores. The vehicle is a tan, Chevrolet Camaro, 2-door. I researched [redacted] [redacted] date of birth, [redacted] resides at [redacted] in [redacted] has a my space page called www.myspace.com/[redacted]. In her web page, shows various photos of [redacted] photographed at a beach. An interview is forthcoming.

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A review of the video disks which was extracted at the Palm Beach County Sheriff's Office Computer Crime Unit revealed that only one hidden camera was functional at the time. Several images of Epstein working at his office were seen. Additional footage of [redacted] and [redacted] was seen. There was other footage of females seen. The identity of the females is unknown at this time, until such time as I meet with certain females to show the video footage to confirm if, in fact, it is them on the video. At this time it appears that [redacted] and [redacted] are seen sitting with Epstein beside his desk in the evening hours. Due to poor lighting, a direct confirmation cannot be made at this time.

Inv. Continues.

************************** N A R R A T I V E # 37 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/30/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/30/06

On January 25, 2006, Det Caristo and I, responded to [redacted] [redacted] and met with [redacted] stated last year, when she was seventeen years of age, she met Jeffrey Epstein through her former room mate [redacted] was allegedly dating Epstein at the time. [redacted] had once cohabitated together when they modeled. [redacted] explained [redacted] called her on her telephone and advised her that she was in Palm Beach and requested to see her. [redacted] made arrangements to meet with her at Epstein's house. [redacted] arrived and met Epstein and [redacted] and [redacted] went to the Palm Beach Mall together and went shopping. [redacted] advised that [redacted] and she had received money from Epstein to go to the mall. They visited Victoria's Secret and purchased undergarments from the store utilizing monies given by Epstein. [redacted] advised she purchased one item and [redacted] purchase various items. The money used to purchase the items was the money given by Epstein.

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[redacted] continued shopping and having a day together. [redacted] stated [redacted] explained how she and Epstein have been dating each other and he has been paying all of her bills. [redacted] claimed [redacted] advised they met in New York and had been dating ever since. They later returned to Epstein's home and encountered Epstein. He had a brief conversation with [redacted] about her modeling career. He knew of her modeling career from [redacted] He requested to see her modeling portfolio and explained that he could help her with modeling jobs. [redacted] had her book with her to show [redacted] and showed the book to Epstein. He commented negatively about her photographs and portfolio. [redacted] felt uncomfortable with the comments made as she had been working with other professional modeling companies who had offered her work from her photographs. Epstein requested to see what was purchased at the mall. [redacted] took out the undergarments which were purchased. She immediately showed Epstein different sets purchased. Epstein then requested to view what [redacted] purchased. [redacted] was reluctant to show the outfit however since it was Epstein's money that purchased the item, she pulled it out of the bag. Epstein asked her to try it on. [redacted] looked at [redacted] who told her "yeah, try it on." Feeling compelled to try the undergarment outfit on; she went to another room and put on the bra and panty set. She walked out to the living room where they were sitting, and modeled the suit. She then went back into the other room and changed back into her clothes. [redacted] returned into the room and told [redacted] she would be going home. scheduled another day for [redacted] to return for massages with her.

[redacted] stated within that same week, she returned to meet with [redacted] and have a massage. [redacted] had told her that she would be unable to stay with her as she would be going on a bike ride with Epstein. [redacted] explained she could stay at the house and take advantage of the massage.

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[redacted]stated she met with an unknown massage therapist and had the table already set up in a guest room. [redacted] removed her clothing, leaving her panties on, and wrapped herself with a towel for the massage. [redacted] remembered that the door to the guest room was closed but not locked. As the therapist was working her back, the door was opened by Epstein and entered into the room. [redacted]was trying to conceal herself as Epstein was talking to her about his chiropractic session. Epstein told [redacted] turn over onto her back. [redacted] eventually turned over exposing her breasts to Epstein as he applied pressure on her shoulder and her waist. [redacted] stated Epstein "popped" her back. [redacted]removed her self from the table, got dressed and left the house. further stated [redacted] had attempted to call her on several occasions to invite her back to Epstein's house to which [redacted] replied "I'm busy."[redacted] advised she has not had contact with either [redacted] or Jeffrey Epstein. It should be noted that her mother, [redacted] was present during the interview. The interview was concluded and we thanked them her for their time.

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**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 38 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 1/31/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 1/31/06

On January 27, 2006, I made telephone contact with Christina Venero, at [redacted]. Venero is a licensed massage therapist who had frequented the home of Jeffrey Epstein. Ms. Venero has been unable to meet with me in Palm Beach County, and because she lives and works in Port St Lucie, a telephone interview was conducted. I explained to Ms. Venero that there was an on going investigation involving Jeffrey Epstein.

Venero stated she knows Epstein and has been employed by him for approximately three years. Epstein has paid Venero to perform Swedish Massages (Deep Tissue) on him and other guests. Venero explained that approximately three year ago she met Ghislaine Maxwell and Jeffrey Epstein through a mutual friend. Epstein and Maxwell were looking for a massage therapist. Venero stated since that time, she is notified when Epstein is coming to Palm Beach. Venero stated she comes to his house and provides the massage or massages. Venero explained she has also massaged his guests and assistants. Venero continued that she is paid $100.00 and hour for the massage.

I asked Venero if anything occurred during the massage that would have made her feel uncomfortable. Venero stated she only provided massages and that was it. She never was approached for anything else. I asked if Epstein ever asked her to rub his chest she stated she would not rub his chest as that is not part of her massage. Venero explained that she was not Epstein's type. The girls she would see at Epstein's house were very thin, beautiful and without tattoos. Venero explained she has several tattoos that are visible. Maxwell and Epstein have commented negatively about her tattoos previously when she has provided massages.

Venero stated she only provided massages for Epstein and his associates and nothing happened during those massages. Venero stated as she does Swedish style massages, the patient is usually sore after the massages. I thanked her for her assistance and the interview was concluded at this time.

I received a facsimile from T-Mobile Cellular service on telephone number [redacted], which is assigned to David Rodgers, pilot for Mr. Epstein, who resides in Lake Worth. Rodgers' telephone number was dialed on several occasions by [redacted]. A background on Rodgers indicated he has a valid FAA pilot license First Class for the Southern FAA Region. Rodgers has another historical FAA license for Airline Transport Pilot.

Investigation Continues.

***************************** NARRATIVE # 39 ***************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 2/14/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 2/16/06

On Friday, February 3, 2006, I had made arrangements to meet with [redacted] at the Palm Beach Police Station. At approximately 1:00pm, [redacted] and her friend, [redacted] arrived at the police station. During an interview with [redacted] she stated she met Epstein when she turned eighteen years old and was brought to Epstein's house to provide a massage. She advised this occurred on May of 2005. She advised [redacted] had informed her if she wanted to provide a massage for $200.00. [redacted] agreed and was brought to Epstein's house to provide a massage. [redacted] stated she had been to the house on many occasions during the massage sessions. [redacted] also stated she would remove her clothing to provide the massage on Epstein. [redacted] advised Epstein would pay her $300.00 to rub his back, legs and chest. During the massages, Epstein would masturbate himself as she rubbed his chest. I asked her if Epstein ever touched her breasts during the massages. [redacted] replied. "Yes." I asked her if Epstein ever touched or massaged her vagina. [redacted] stated he had on several occasions. I asked her if he ever penetrated her with either his penis or any other objects. [redacted] stated that during a massage he inserted his fingers in her vagina as she massaged him. She stated this occurred one time only. [redacted] stated the massage would be over when Epstein would climax onto a towel. I asked [redacted] if she had any formal massage training to which she replied that she did not. [redacted] was then asked if she ever brought anyone to the house to "work." [redacted] stated she brought two people to the house. She advised she received money for bringing people to the house to "work." [redacted] stated she brought a girl named [redacted] and her friend [redacted] was still waiting for [redacted] in the lobby of the police station. I thanked [redacted] for her time and her cooperation and escorted her to the lobby.

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I asked [redacted] if I could speak with her about this investigation. I brought her to the interview room and explained to her that I was conducting an investigation on Jeffrey Epstein and felt she may have information pertaining to the investigation. [redacted] identified herself as [redacted] and resides in Wellington, Florida. She advised approximately a year ago she was brought to Epstein's house to provide a massage for money. [redacted] stated she needed to make money and felt it was a quick way to make some money. [redacted] stated she was brought to the house by [redacted] and was introduced to Epstein and his assistant. She was brought to his main bathroom and provided a massage. I asked her if she provided the massage naked. [redacted] stated she did. She rubbed Epstein's legs, back and chest. I asked [redacted] if Epstein touched her during the massage. She advised he did not, however he did masturbate himself as she rubbed his chest. Once he climaxed the massage was over. She was paid her money and left the area. [redacted] advised it occurred one time and she never returned to Epstein's house. The interview was concluded and [redacted] was escorted to the lobby.

I located a telephone number for [redacted] and attempted to contact her on several occasions. I called [redacted] and spoke with [redacted] who advised she would speak with me in Deerfield Beach where she resides. Due to a scheduling conflict, we were unable to meet. I informed her I would contact her to schedule another b6
appointment to speak with her about this investigation. I have b7c
attempted to meet with her and make telephone contact with negative results.

On February 13, 2006, I met with David Rodgers at 7318 Heathley Drive in Lake Worth. Rodgers was identified as Epstein's pilot. I spoke with Rodgers who advised he has been employed with Epstein since 1991. He flies both planes for Epstein depending where he wants to fly to. Rodgers was asked about passengers in the plane he flies. Rodgers stated unless Epstein flew to his island off of St Thomas, there would be no way of knowing who the passengers were. I mentioned a recent flight to Ohio, where Rodgers flew to Ohio to pick up [redacted] Rodgers stated he recalled flying on several occasions and did remember [redacted] Rodgers stated once he is in the cockpit, he does not know who the passengers are. When he prepares the passenger manifests, he lists Epstein and his assistants he knows by name, [redacted] and [redacted]. Rodgers stated he would list either female or male passengers on the manifests only to keep a count on the passengers. Mrs. Rodgers came into the living room and recommended that her husband consult with an attorney. Mr. Rodgers agreed he would speak with the family attorney to inform him of this questioning. I explained to Mr. Rodgers that he was not the suspect in this investigation and ceased all questions. Based on the fact Rodgers could not advise who passengers were in the plane, I then left the area.

I attempted to locate [redacted] in Wellington. I left my business card for her to return my call. On February 14, 2006, at 12:06 pm, I received a call back from [redacted]

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)

on my voice mail. [redacted] left her telephone number for a return call [redacted] I left her a message to return call.

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Investigation Continues..

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 40 ****************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 2/21/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 2/22/06

On February 15, 2006, I made telephone contact with [redacted] who provided directions to where I could locate her. Det Caristo and I responded to 806 Old Dixie Hwy in Lake Park to meet with [redacted] [redacted] Upon my arrival, I met with [redacted] in the parking lot directly behind MAACO Auto Painting. She was advised I was there to speak with her about an ongoing investigation that concerned Jeffrey Epstein in Palm Beach. [redacted] stated she knows Epstein very well and did not want to speak with me about Mr. Epstein. She was very fond of Epstein and did not want to speak with me about anything concerning Jeffrey Epstein. I explained to her that she was seen at the house and I would like to speak with her. She stated she knew there was an investigation and that I had spoken with other people and therefore I should know what happened at Epstein's house. [redacted] ended the conversation and walked back into her boyfriends business, Blanton Automotive. Det Caristo and I left the area and returned to the police station.

Investigation continues.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 41 ****************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 4/10/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 4/10/06

A Grand Jury Session was requested during the month of February 2006, in which all the girls that had been interviewed would have been called to testify before the Grand Jury to seek an indictment against Jeffrey Epstein. Due to subsequent meetings with the State Attorney's Office and Defense Attorney Alan Dershowitz the Grand Jury was postponed until a later time. Dershowitz had provided a package of material on the main victims in this case in which they appear on myspace.com and speak about alcohol use and some marijuana use. The State Attorney's Office wanted time to review the material.

I requested additional subpoenas from the State Attorney's Office in which I requested information from Dollar Rent a Car and Jet Aviation. The information requested from Dollar Rent a Car was for the rented vehicle by Alfredo Rodriguez while under the employ of Epstein for one of the victims. The other subpoena requested was for Jet Aviation for dates and times when Epstein's planes were in Palm Beach County.

I continued to research other names that were acquired either from interviews or intelligence gathered during the investigation. I located [redacted] in Royal Palm Beach. I responded to [redacted] [redacted] in Royal Palm Beach. During the interview, [redacted] stated she knew I would be speaking with her. [redacted] stated she was first introduced to Epstein when she turned eighteen years old. [redacted] stated she was sure of her age as it was her senior year in [redacted]. She advised she was brought there to make money and was told she would have to provide a massage to this Palm Beach guy. She remembered she met Epstein and his assistant [redacted] in the kitchen area. She stated she was taken by one of her friends, [redacted] She stated she went upstairs with [redacted] while Epstein got ready for the massage. He exited his bathroom naked and [redacted] turned around. Epstein asked her if being naked offended her. [redacted] stated it made her uncomfortable. Epstein then put on a towel and lay on the table. [redacted] stated she rubbed his back and feet. She stated she had no massage training or experience. [redacted] stated during the massage, Epstein attempted to touch her buttocks. [redacted] pulled away as he touched her buttocks. She told him again she was uncomfortable with him touching her. Epstein then cut the massage short and became upset with her. Epstein paid her $200.00 for the massage and told her to leave the house. [redacted] never returned to the house. She did advise of one time she went with [redacted] however she waited in the car for [redacted] as she did not want to go into the house. At the conclusion of [redacted] visit with Epstein they left the area. [redacted] stated she had heard from other girls that have gone to the house that Epstein now required them to do the massage naked and allow him to touch them in their private areas for monies. The interview was concluded as [redacted] did not have any other information to provide.

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I then learned from the original victim, [redacted] the defense attorney had learned of her identity. I spoke with the father of the victim, who stated there has been a private investigator on his house photographing his family and chasing visitors who come to the house. He provided a Florida License of E79-4EH. This vehicle is registered to Ivan Robles of West Palm Beach. Robles is a private investigator intern who is licensed by the state. I informed the State Attorney's Office of the above information.

I received the Grand Jury subpoenas to be delivered to three victims for a Grand Jury session to be held on April 18, through April 20, 2006.

Investigation continues.

**************************** N A R R A T I V E # 42 **************************
NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 4/14/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 4/18/06

The Grand Jury Subpoenas were personally served to the individuals they were issued to. On April 5, 2006, at approximately 7:30 p.m., I personally served the parents [redacted] who had informed me that the private investigators were still photographing the family. On April

10, 2006, at approximately 2:30 p.m., I served [redacted] at her residence in [redacted]. The subpoena was given to her mother, [redacted]

I learned through one of the victims [redacted] that she was personally contacted through a source that has maintained contact with Epstein. The source assured [redacted] she would receive monetary compensation for her assistance in not cooperating with law enforcement. [redacted] also stated she was told, "Those who help him will be compensated and those who hurt him will be dealt with." I told [redacted] that tampering with a witness/victim is an arrestable offense and very serious. I asked her who approached her during this encounter. [redacted] originally was reluctant to provide the name of the person who approached her to offer her not to testify because she felt they were still friends.

On April 11, 2006, Det Dawson and I traveled to Tallahassee, Florida and met with the victim, [redacted] identified [redacted] W/F, [redacted] as the person who approached her in Royal Palm Beach while she was home during Spring Break in March 2006. [redacted] also stated she did not want to pursue the intimidation charges on [redacted] was concerned that the defense attorney was given a copy of the report as certain things she had told me in confidence were repeated to her by [redacted]. Prior to our departure, the victim was given a copy of her subpoena for the Grand Jury which was scheduled to commence April 18, 2006.

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Upon our return from Tallahassee, I notified the State Attorney's Office of what was told to me. I also notified them that the subpoenas were delivered to the witnesses and they would be calling for arrangements for the date and time needed for the Grand Jury. I spoke with ASA Weiss and informed her of the possible intimidation by the defense.

On April 13, and April 14, 2006 I attempted contact on several occasions with ASA Weiss and ASA Belohlavic to ascertain when the victims needed to report for Grand Jury testimony. Messages were left on their voicemail. On April 17, 2006, during the hours of 9:00 am and 11:30 am, I again left messages for ASA Weiss and ASA Belohlavic for either of them to return my call as I had not heard from the State Attorney's Office as to the time and date of the Grand Jury.

At approximately 12:30 pm, I went to the State Attorney's Office and located ASA Weiss and ASA Belohlavic in their offices. I entered ASA Belohlavic's office who informed me that she was going to return my call. She explained that an offer was made to the defense, Atty Guy Fronstin and Atty Alan Dershowitz. The offer is 1 count of Agg Assault with intent to commit a felony, five years probation, with adjudication withheld. Epstein would have to submit to psychiatric/sexual evaluation and no unsupervised visits with minors. When asked about the all the other victims, ASA Belohlavic stated that was the only offer made as to one victim, [redacted] ASA Belohlavic cell phone rang and went to voice mail. She checked her voice mail and played the message on speaker. The caller identified himself as

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)

Atty Guy Fronstin and acknowledged the deal made between them. Fronstin stated in the message, he spoke with his client, Jeffrey Epstein, and agreed to the deal. Fronstin asked to call off the grand jury as they would accept this deal. Belohlavic stated a probable cause would be needed to book Epstein in the county jail and would let me know as to when it would be needed. I explained my disapproval of the deal and not being consulted prior to the deal being offered. However I expressed that was only my opinion and the final approval would come from the Chief of Police. She explained to have Chief Reiter call Barry Krisher about the deal. I left the area and returned to the police station where I briefed the Chief about the deal offered.

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I checked my voice mail messages and discovered a message from [redacted] stepmother for the victim [redacted] She was calling because the State Attorney's Office still had not returned any of her calls as to when they are needed for this case. I then called ASA Belohlavic's office and left messages for her to call the victims on this case and explained to them what the State Attorney's Office had done.

On April 17, 2006, at approximately 4:30 pm, State Attorney Investigator Tim Valentine called to officially notify me of the cancellation of the Grand Jury. He requested I contact the victims that had been served to appear, to notify them of the cancellation. I advised Valentine that as this Grand Jury session was called based on the State Attorney's Office decision to have the victims heard by the Grand Jury that I felt it was the States Attorney's Office responsibility to contact the victims and advise them of the reason they were no longer needed.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 43 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 5/04/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 5/04/06

As I had not received any contact from anyone at the State Attorney's Office, on May 1, 2006, I prepared three arrest warrant requests and submitted them to the State Attorney's Office. The packages were delivered to the Crimes against Children Unit in care of ASA Lana Belohlavek. Jeffrey Epstein's arrest warrant was requested for 4 counts of Unlawful Sexual activity with certain minors and one count of Lewd and Lascivious Molestation. [redacted], Epstein's assistant's, arrest warrant request was for 4 counts of Principal in the 1st degree Unlawful Sexual activity with certain minors and one count of Principal in the 1st degree Lewd and Lascivious Molestation. [redacted]'s arrest warrant request was for Lewd and Lascivious Acts on a victim under 16 years of age. The receipt of delivery was signed and brought back to the records division at the police department.

On May 3, 2006, at approximately 2:54 pm, I received a telephone call from ASA Daliah Weiss on my cellular telephone. ASA Weiss advised she

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)

has been taken off the Jeffrey Epstein case because her husband is employed with Attorney Jack Goldberger. Attorney Goldberger is the attorney of record for Jeffrey Epstein. His previous attorney, Guy Fronstin, has been fired from representation. ASA Lana Belohlavek has been assigned the case. ASA Weiss stated she can no longer speak about the Epstein case with me. I thanked her for her telephone call. ASA Weiss further stated that ASA Belohlavek would be calling me.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 44 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 5/15/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 5/15/06

On May 10, 2006, information was received that Epstein's associate, Leslie Wexner, The Limited Inc, CEO's, plane had arrived in West Palm Beach, PBIA. The plane, a Gulfstream 4 bearing a N900LS registration, was on the tarmac at Galaxy Aviation. As Epstein had recently acquired the services of a new attorney, and the fact that Epstein's house is currently under remodeling, it was believed that Epstein may be in Palm Beach. I conducted physical surveillance at the residence, 358 El Brillo Way. I observed a large construction crew conducting remodeling at the house. The contractor, David Norr, was observed driving a Ford Explorer, white in color. The vehicle has a Florida registration of F30QQF. Norr left Epstein's house and traveled north on County Road. Det Caristo and I conducted surveillance on Norr. Norr traveled to several construction sites and checked on certain jobs. Surveillance was discontinued on Norr and Det Caristo and I traveled to Galaxy Aviation. I observed the white plane with a blue stripe along the body and tail of the plane; the tail number was visible on the bottom of the tail, closer to the body of the plane. We maintained visual surveillance on the plane until 4:57 p.m., when a caravan of Cadillac Escalades drove onto the tarmac. We observed several people exit the vehicles and discovered that they were part of the executive team for Limited Inc. The executives were in Palm Beach County for an executive meeting for the day. They arrived in Palm Beach County on May 9, 2006 at 9:30 pm and were scheduled to leave on the 10th at 5:00 pm.

On May 12, 2006, I met with ASA Lana Belohlavek at the State Attorney's Office. She explained that her boss, Barry Krischer, was requesting this case be taken to the Grand Jury again. I explained to her I had requested arrest warrants for Jeffrey Epstein, [redacted] and [redacted]. I asked that she either issue the warrants or direct file, as so much time has elapsed since the original request to the Grand Jury. I explained that the Palm Beach Police Department had concluded the case in December of 2005 and has been waiting for the case to go forward. Belohlavek stated the original offer was again offered to the new defense attorney. She was waiting for their answer by Friday May 19, 2006. She stated she would advise me of the answer.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 45 ***************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 6/05/06

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 6/06/06

On May 22, 2006, I received several phone calls throughout the day from Mr. [redacted] who stated he had been followed aggressively by a private investigator. Mr. [redacted] stated that as he drove to and from work and running errands throughout the county, the same vehicle was behind him running other vehicles off the road in an attempt not to lose sight of Mr. [redacted] vehicle.

I explained to him as Mr. Epstein had retained new legal council it was possible it would be new private investigators following him to observe his daily activities. I also explained to him that there was a meeting scheduled with ASA Lana Belohlavek and Attorney Jack Goldberger at Mr. Krischer's office scheduled on June 1, 2006 at 9:00 am. I attempted to call ASA Lana Belohlavek to inform her of the private investigators following Mr. [redacted] however; she was on her vacation during the week of May 22 through May 30 2006.

On May 23, 2006, I received other phone calls from Mr. and Mrs. [redacted] who advised they were able to acquire the private investigators license plate information. The subject following them was again driving very aggressively and caused Mrs. [redacted] to run off the road. Mrs. [redacted] stated the vehicle is a green Chevy Monte Carlo bearing Florida tag I35-XGA. The vehicle is registered to Zachary Bechard of Jupiter Florida. Bechard is employed with Candor Investigations from Jupiter, Florida. Bechard is a licensed Private Investigator in the State of Florida.

Since the discovery of the threat made against one of the victims in this case [redacted], I requested subpoenas for all calls made to and received from [redacted] during the month of March 2006 for her cell phone and home phone. I had confirmed with [redacted] the exact dates of Spring Break for 2006.. The Spring Break was from March 4, 2006 through March 12, 2006. I received a subpoena from Sprint/Nextel with all calls made during the month of March 2006. I reviewed the 989 calls made and received during the month of March 2006. I observed on March 7, 2006, [redacted] made and received thirty five calls during that day.

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| Date | Time | Seconds | In/Out | To/From |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7-Mar-06 | 11:03 AM | 492 | Outbound | 561XXXX |
| 7-Mar-06 | 11:16 AM | 6 | Inbound | 561XXXX |
| 7-Mar-06 | 11:22 AM | 887.2 | Inbound | 561XXXX |
| 7-Mar-06 | 11:37 AM | 48 | Outbound | [redacted] |
| 7-Mar-06 | 11:39 AM | 28.2 | Inbound | [redacted] |
| 7-Mar-06 | 12:02 PM | 727.2 | Inbound | [redacted] |

The table reflects the date of the calls, time of day (EST), duration

Case No. . . . : 1-05-000368 (Continued)

of call in seconds, inbound or outbound calls and calls made to or from [redacted] phone. On March 7, 2006, at 11:03 am, [redacted] made a call to the victim [redacted] which lasted 492 seconds (8 minutes and 2 seconds). The victim then returned the call at 11:16 am which lasted 6 seconds. The victim then made contact with [redacted] at 11:22 am for 877.2 seconds (14 minutes and 6 seconds). These sequences of calls were consistent with what the victim had described to me on the date of the intimidation. Immediately after speaking with the victim, [redacted] makes a call to [redacted] Epstein's assistant, which lasts for forty-eight seconds. A call is then immediately received, a telephone number registered to a Corporation affiliated with Jeffrey Epstein located at 457 Madison Ave in New York. An extensive computer check revealed 457 Madison Ave is a business address in which Epstein has his corporations assigned to. Epstein had corporation attorney, Darren Indyke, register the businesses and register himself as an agent. I also observed Epstein has his El Zorro Ranch Corporation, New York Strategy Group, Ghislaine Corporation, J Epstein and Company and the Financial Strategy Group registered to this same address. Finally, a third call is received by [redacted] at 12:02 pm from the same corporate number which lasts 12 minutes and 1 second. It should be noted that there is no further contact with either the victim during the month of March or April of 2006. I also noted that there was no further contact with [redacted] or Jeffrey Epstein during the remainder of the month of March or April 2006.

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On June 1, 2006, ASA Lana Belohlavek telephoned me to inform me of the meeting that occurred with Atty. Jack Goldberger and her reference this case. She advised she would make her determination on whether to file on this case or not by Monday June 5, 2006.

Inv Continues.

*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 46 **************************

NA Reported By: RECAREY, JOSEPH 7/12/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 7/12/06

On June 29, 2006, I had spoken to ASA Lana Belohlavic who informed me that the case would be sent to the Grand Jury for charges. She informed me that the grand jury would convene on July 19, 2006 to hear the Epstein case. Belohlavic stated State Attorney Barry Krisher made the determination to go the Grand Jury to hear the case.

On July 12, 2006, I spoke with Mrs. [redacted] mother of the victim, [redacted] who inquired about the status of the case. I explained to her that I was told we would be going to the Grand Jury during the week of July 19, 2006. She stated she had not been contacted as of yet by the State Attorney's Office for any information. I provided her with the telephone numbers to the State Attorney's Office.

Investigation continues...

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Date:  8/07/06          PALM BEACH POLICE DEPARTMENT              Page:       1
Time:  9:25:15                 Incident Report                 Program: CMS301L
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Case Number   . : 1-06-001078
SPECIAL NOTES   : DO NOT RELEASE - JUVENILES
Occur From Date: 3/01/04 0000           Occur To Date   : 5/31/05 0000
Report Date   . : 7/28/06 1200          Day Of Week   . : Monday
Common/Location: 345 S COUNTY RD
City . . . . . : PALM BEACH, FL
Location Type   : GOVERNMENT/PUBLIC BUILDING
Beat Assignment: DETECTIVE BUREAU       Map Reference   : 14
Dept Class . . : POLICE INFORMATION     Report Officer : DAWSON, MICHAEL
Case Status   . : OPEN / ACTIVE         Case Status Dt : 7/28/06
Supervisory Dt.: GUDGER, ELMER  7/28/06 Entry Date . . : OREGERO, LAURA   8/04/06
Names? . . . . :                        Property?  . . :
Vehicles?  . . :                        Offenses?  . . :
Narrative? . . :                        Related Cases? :
Interfaces?  . :

************** S U S P E C T / A R R E S T E E   I N F O R M A T I O N - # 1 **
Case Number   . : 1-06-001078           Prompt valid in: EPSTEIN, JEFFREY
Street Number   : 358 EL BRILLO WY
City . . . . . : PALM BEACH, FL 000033480
Birth Date . . : 1/20/1953 51           Maximum Age   . : 51
Employer?  . . :                        Occupation . . : FINANCIAL ADVISOR
Oper Lic No. . : E12342530200   FL      Home Phone No. :
Other Phone Nbr:                        Race . . . . . : White
Sex   . . . . . : Male                  Minimum Height : 600
Minimum Weight : 180                    Maximum Height : 0
Maximum Weight : 0                      Misc. ID#  . . :
Aliases? . . . :                        MO/Crime Spec? :
Hair Color . . : SALT & PEPPER          Hair Length   . :
Hair Style . . :                        Eye Color  . . : BLUE
Glasses   . . . : No                    Complexion . . : LIGHT
Facial Hair   . :                       Build   . . . . : MEDIUM
Teeth   . . . . :                       Speech . . . . :
Hat   . . . . . :                       Coat . . . . . :
Shirt   . . . . :                       Pants   . . . . :
Shoes   . . . . :                       Body Marks #1   :
Body Marks #2   :                       Body Marks #3   :
Body Marks #4   :                       Status . . . . : STILL SUSPECT
Arrest Case No.:                        Additional UCR?:

************** V I C T I M   I N F O R M A T I O N - # 1 *******************
Case Number   . : [redacted]            Prompt valid in: [redacted]        b6
Street Number   :                                                          b7C
City . . . . . :                  [redacted]
Birth Date/Age :                        Employer?  . . :
Occupation . . :                        Oper Lic No. . :
Home Phone No. :                        Race . . . . . :
Sex   . . . . . :                       Height . . . . :
Weight . . . . :                        Misc. ID#  . . :
Be On Look Out?:                        Other Phone Nbr:
Victim Type   . :                       Residency Type :
Residency Sts   :                       File Charges . :
Can Identify . :                        Victim Sobriety:
Injury Extent   :                       Injury Type 1   :
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[redacted]

[redacted]

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*************************** N A R R A T I V E # 1 ***************************

Original Report LO Reported By: DAWSON, MICHAEL C. 7/28/06
Entered By.: OREGERO, LAURA D. . 8/04/06

On July 27, 2006, the Palm Beach Police Department received a phone call from a woman [redacted] said she read a recent newspaper article about the arrest of Jeffrey Epstein and advised she has information about Epstein. An attempt was made to interview [redacted] immediately but she advised she had to work and would not be available to meet on this date. [redacted] said she could meet with Detectives on July 28, 2006, at 12 Noon.

On July 28, 2006, at approximately 1200 HRS, WF [redacted] DOB [redacted], came to the Palm Beach Police Station. I verified [redacted] identification by her Florida driver's license. [redacted] said she read an article in the Palm Beach Post newspaper on July 25, 2006, which advised Jeffrey Epstein was arrested. [redacted] said the article advised a lie detector test was passed by Epstein which stated Epstein did not know the girls in question where under the age of 18. [redacted] she was a victim of Epstein and she advised she told him on numerous occasions she was only 17 years of age. I took a sworn taped statement from [redacted]

[redacted] said she had approximately ten contacts with Epstein between the months of February 2004 and May 2005. [redacted] explained how she first came in contact with Epstein. [redacted] said one night in February of 2004, she was hanging out with a friend named [redacted] said [redacted] told her she could make some money by massaging a man that lived in Palm Beach. [redacted] said the next morning, she received a phone call from [redacted] asking if she wanted to go to see this man. [redacted] said she decided to go with [redacted] to Palm Beach. [redacted] said [redacted] told her she would have to massage this man and possibly take her clothes off. [redacted] told [redacted] she would receive approximately $200 for this massage.

[redacted] said she drove [redacted] to Palm Beach. [redacted] said she took the Southern Blvd. Bridge into Palm Beach and then drove North on the road next to the beach (A1A). [redacted] said she turned onto El Brillo and drove to the last house on the left. [redacted] described the house as being white in color. She parked the car in home's driveway and

1-06-001078 (Continued)

noticed two black Suburban SUVs. She advised there were two black Mercedes Benz vehicles in the garage along with a Harley Davidson motorcycle. [redacted] said they walked through a gate to the back door where they were greeted by a Chinese woman who was wearing some type of uniform. [redacted] said the woman told them to wait in the kitchen for [redacted]. [redacted] said a [redacted] then entered the kitchen. [redacted] described [redacted] as being in her 20s, blond, thin, and approximately 5'6". [redacted] advised [redacted] to take [redacted] up to the bathroom and show [redacted] what to do.

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[redacted] said once in the upstairs bathroom, she noticed a massage table in the middle of the room. [redacted] saw a green and pink couch in the room. [redacted] saw numerous towels stacked in the left corner of the room. [redacted] said Epstein entered the room wearing a robe. [redacted] said the man introduced himself as Jeffrey and shook her hand. Epstein also said hello to [redacted] said Epstein dropped his robe and was wearing a towel around his waist. Epstein laid face down on the table at which time she and [redacted] began to massage him. [redacted] said while they were massaging Epstein, through conversation, she advised Epstein she was 17 years of age and still in High School. [redacted] said after approximately 10-15 minutes, Epstein asked the girls to take their tops off. [redacted] said she and [redacted] took their tops off exposing their bras. [redacted] said seconds later Epstein asked them to take their bras off, which both did, exposing their bare breasts. [redacted] said after more massage, Epstein asked [redacted] to leave the room, leaving only [redacted] present with Epstein. [redacted] said Epstein asked her to take her pants off, which she did. [redacted] said she was totally nude at this time. [redacted] said Epstein got up from the table and sat on the aforementioned couch. [redacted] said Epstein sat on the towel and masturbated in front of her. [redacted] said Epstein's penis was fully exposed. Epstein told [redacted] to get a vibrator out of a drawer in the bathroom. [redacted] said the blue/gray vibrator was skinny at the handle but had a large ball at the top. [redacted] said the vibrator was more of a sex toy than a massage item. [redacted] said Epstein attempted to use the vibrator on her but she told him she did not want him to touch her. [redacted] said Epstein asked her to talk dirty to him. [redacted] said once Epstein climaxed, he told her the money was next to the sink, and then he jumped into the shower. [redacted] said she put her clothes on and both her and [redacted] left the house. [redacted] said she thinks [redacted] received $200.

[redacted] said she went to Epstein's house with [redacted] on either one or two other occasions. [redacted] said eventually, Epstein's assistant [redacted] would call her to make appointments. [redacted] said [redacted] would call her from different phone numbers but most of the time it was from [redacted] [redacted] showed me her cell phone which had this number in her address book under the name of [redacted]. [redacted] said after her first visit, Epstein started to touch her bare breasts and bare buttocks. Epstein would also use the vibrator on her, specifically on her vagina. The vibrator would be placed on the outside of her vagina. [redacted] said in March of 2004, she believes on her fifth visit to Epstein's home, Epstein penetrated [redacted] vagina using his fingers.

1-06-001078 (Continued)

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[redacted] said Epstein did this for approximately one minute until she told him to stop. [redacted] said Epstein did stop and no more penetration took place. [redacted] said Epstein would ask her on occasion if she would have intercourse with him but she always denied his requests. [redacted] said Epstein offered her more money for sex but she repeatedly declined.

[redacted] said Epstein told her she should be a model and he would help her become a model. [redacted] said Epstein told her he could not wait until she turned 18 years of age so he could fly her to Paris, France. [redacted] said she last had contact with Epstein or his assistant [redacted] was in May of 2005.

[redacted] said she told two friends about what she did at Epstein's home. These two friends, [redacted] WF DOB [redacted] and [redacted] WF DOB [redacted], both agreed to meet with Epstein and provide massages. [redacted] said she told both girls that they would have to massage this man and possibly get undressed. [redacted] told both girls they would receive approximately $200 for these massages. [redacted] said she is unaware how many times [redacted] went to Epstein's house. [redacted] advised she did not tell [redacted] or [redacted] she was reporting these actions to the police.

[redacted] had in her possession two tubes of Bath and Body Works lotion she said came from Epstein's home. [redacted] said she did not remember when she got these lotions from Epstein's home but she no longer wanted to posses them. I completed a property receipt which [redacted] signed and placed the lotions into evidence.

[redacted] signed an affidavit stating she wished to prosecute Epstein based on his actions. [redacted] reiterated she told Epstein on numerous occasions she was only 17 years of age when the above took place. This affidavit was placed into the attachment file.

This video tape of the interview was placed into evidence.

**************************** NARRATIVE # 2 ****************************

NA Reported By: DAWSON, MICHAEL C. 8/04/06
Entered By.: ALTOMARO, NICKIE A. 8/04/06

On July 31, 2006, at approximately 1115 HRS, Detective Silvestri and I met with [redacted] WF DOB [redacted], at her home. [redacted] advised she did meet a man named Jeffrey in 2004 when she believes she was either 16 or 17 years of age. [redacted] said she provided a massage for this man.

[redacted] said sometime in 2004, her friend [redacted] told her she could make $300 for giving a man a massage. [redacted] said approximately two weeks later, she decided to go with [redacted] to this man's house. [redacted] said [redacted] drove her to a large house in the West Palm Beach area. [redacted] said she did not know the exact location of the house but believes the house was near water. [redacted] said it was

1-06-001078 (Continued)

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approximately 8:30 PM when they arrived. [redacted] said both she and [redacted] drank beer and used Xanax before they arrived at this house. [redacted] said she was under the influence of the beer and Xanax. said upon arrival, they met with a blond woman who was in her 20's. [redacted] described this woman as being the manager of the girls that visit this house. [redacted] said they went into the kitchen and then she and [redacted] were led to a massage room in the house. [redacted] said she saw numerous photos of naked woman and also sculptures of naked woman throughout the house. [redacted] said moments later, a man named Jeffrey entered the room wearing a robe. [redacted] said Jeffrey removed his robe and lay down on the massage table. [redacted] said she and [redacted] massaged Jeffrey for approximately 20 minutes. [redacted] said she massaged Jeffrey's legs using some type of lotion. [redacted] said Jeffrey asked [redacted] to leave the room. [redacted] said Jeffrey asked her to take her shirt off. [redacted] said she removed her shirt exposing her bra. [redacted] said Jeffrey asked her to remove her other clothes but she refused his request. [redacted] said she was wearing a short skirt and underwear along with the bra. [redacted] said Jeffrey began to masturbate in full view of her. [redacted] said she did see Jeffrey's penis. [redacted] said Jeffrey reached under her skirt and rubbed her vagina on top of her panties. [redacted] said she felt uncomfortable and asked Jeffrey to stop, which he did. [redacted] said once Jeffrey was done masturbating, she went downstairs and met with [redacted] said they both received $200 but she could not remember who gave them the money.

I showed [redacted] a photo lineup containing Jeffrey Epstein. [redacted] positively identified Epstein as the man in picture three.

[redacted] said Jeffrey did not ask her how old she was. [redacted] said she could not remember if she mentioned she was in High School. [redacted] said she knew of other girls who went to Jeffrey's house. supplied those names, [redacted] and a girl named [redacted]

[redacted] signed an affidavit stating she wishes to prosecute based on Epstein's activities. [redacted] swore that her above statement was the truth.

This interview was digitally recorded and this recording along with the photo lineup were placed into evidence.

[redacted]

On July 31, 2006, at approximately 1230 HRS, Detective Silvestri and I met with [redacted] WF DOB [redacted] at her home. [redacted] advised she did know a man named Jeffrey Epstein. [redacted] advised she met Epstein when she was in 11th grade, which was in the year 2004. [redacted] believes she was either 16 or 17 years of age.

[redacted] said a fellow student at [redacted] advised her she could make $200 for massaging a man. [redacted] said

1-06-001078 (Continued)

she could not remember the girls name but it started with a [redacted] [redacted] said this girl [redacted] was in a lower grade then she was. said this girl picked her up in a cab and the cab took them to Palm Beach. [redacted] said the cab had to go over a bridge and she thought the name of the street was El Rodeo. [redacted] said once at the house, they waited in the kitchen. [redacted] said she saw numerous attractive females walking around the house. [redacted] said one of the females, a blond who was approximately 26 years of age, appeared to work for Epstein. [redacted] said [redacted] took her upstairs and told her to get into her bra and panties. [redacted] said she removed her pants and shirt and was only wearing her bra and panties. [redacted] said she saw a massage table in the bathroom, a couch in the room, a shower off to the side, and lotions. [redacted] said Epstein entered the room wearing sleeping pants. [redacted] said Epstein got on the table and she began giving him a massage. [redacted] said [redacted] left the room. [redacted] said Epstein asked her how old she was and she said she was 16 or 17. [redacted] could not remember exactly how old she was when this occurred. [redacted] said she told him she was in High School. [redacted] said Epstein asked her to take off all of her clothes and she refused. [redacted] said Epstein rolled to his side, started to masturbate in full view of her, and ejaculated in his hand. [redacted] said she saw his penis. [redacted] said she put her clothes back on and went downstairs and eventually left in a cab. [redacted] said she received $200 for that visit.

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[redacted] said approximately two months later, she received a phone call from the blond woman at the house who asked her if she needed a job. [redacted] said she did not want to see Epstein again but was told she could bring a friend. [redacted] said she contacted her friend [redacted] and advised her she could make $200 for massaging a man. [redacted] said [redacted] drove them to Epstein's house. [redacted] said [redacted] meet with Epstein and they both received $200. [redacted] said she has had no more contact with Epstein or Epstein's assistant.

[redacted] advised she knew of other girls that went to Epstein's house. Those girls were [redacted] and [redacted] said the girl she knows as [redacted] brought many girls to Epstein's house besides those mentioned in this interview.

[redacted] said during the course of her conversation with Epstein, he told her she was beautiful and that he wanted her to live with him in Los Angeles.

I showed [redacted] a photo lineup containing Epstein. [redacted] positively identified Epstein from photo three.

[redacted] signed an affidavit stating she wishes to prosecute based on Epstein's activities. [redacted] swore that her above statement was the truth.

This interview was digitally recorded and this recording and the photo

1-06-001078 (Continued)

lineup were placed into evidence.

[redacted]

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On July 31, 2006, at approximately 1400 HRS, Detective Silvestre and I met with [redacted] WF DOB [redacted] at the Boynton Beach Mall. [redacted] advised she did have contact with Jeffrey Epstein when she was a sophomore in High School. [redacted] said it was either in 2003 or 2004 and she believes she was 16 years of age when they met.

[redacted] advised back in 2003, she was introduced to Jeffrey Epstein by her friend [redacted] said [redacted] advised her she could make $200 for giving this man a massage. [redacted] said [redacted] told her she might have to get undressed during the massage. [redacted] said [redacted] drove her to a big house in the Town of Palm Beach. [redacted] could not give an exact address or location but said it was near the beach. [redacted] said once at the home, a thin white female with blond hair, approximately 25 years of age, answered the door. [redacted] thinks the woman's name was [redacted] [redacted] said she and [redacted] entered the kitchen and then went upstairs to a bathroom. [redacted] said there was a massage table in the middle of the bathroom. [redacted] said Epstein entered the bathroom wearing a towel around his waist. [redacted] said Epstein took a shower and then lay down on the table fully nude. [redacted] said she and [redacted] started to massage Epstein's legs and chest. said Epstein told [redacted] to go on the balcony, which [redacted] did. Epstein asked [redacted] to take her clothes off. [redacted] said she took all her clothes off and she was nude. [redacted] said she continued to massage Epstein at which time Epstein began to masturbate in her full view. [redacted] said she did see Epstein's penis. [redacted] said while he masturbating Epstein did touch her bare breasts. [redacted] said Epstein stopped masturbating but she did not see him ejaculate. [redacted] said Epstein got up from the table and she immediately put her clothes back on. [redacted] said she and [redacted] then went downstairs. [redacted] said she received $200 from [redacted] [redacted] said she believes [redacted] also received $200 from [redacted]

[redacted] said Epstein never asked her how old she was nor did she tell him her age. [redacted] said during small talk with Epstein she did mention she was in school but she never said what level of school she was in. [redacted] said she never returned to Epstein's house nor has either [redacted] or Epstein made attempts to contact her.

I showed [redacted] a photo lineup containing Epstein. [redacted] positively identified Epstein is position three.

[redacted] advised she knew of other girls that went to Epstein's home. These girls are [redacted] [redacted] advised she has no professional massage training nor does she believe the other girls are trained in massage therapy.

[redacted] signed an affidavit stating she wishes to prosecute based on Epstein's activities. [redacted] swore that her above statement was the truth.

1-06-001078 (Continued)

This interview was taped using a digital recorder. This recording was placed into evidence along with the photo lineup.

Investigation Continues.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * END OF REPORT * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE FIFTEENTH
JUDICIAL CIRCUIT, CRIMINAL DIVISION
IN AND FOR PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA

IN RE: Search Warrant, Affidavit and Application for Search Warrant, and Inventory and Return

DATED AND SIGNED: 10-19-05

AFFIANTS: Det. Joseph Recarey Palm Beach Police

## ORDER SEALING AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION FOR SEARCH WARRANT AND RELATED SEARCH WARRANT AND INVENTORY AND RETURN

THIS CAUSE having come before the Court and the Court having been appraised,

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED pursuant to Florida Statues Chapter 119.07(3)(b) that the Affidavit and Application for Search Warrant signed by Investigator Joseph Recarey as affiant dated and related Search Warrant dated October 18, 2005 hereby **sealed** until further order of the Court.

The Clerk of Court, Criminal Division is hereby ordered to seal said Search Warrant and Affidavit and Application for Search Warrant until further order of the Court.

It is further

ORDERED that the Inventory and Return for Said Search Warrant shall be **sealed** when filed with the Clerk of Court until further order of the Court.

DONE AND ORDERED this 19th day of October at West Palm Beach, Palm Beach County, Florida.

Laura Johnson
Circuit Court Judge

xc: Daliah Weiss, Assistant State Attorney

(COPY)

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 12/05/2006

**To:** Miami **Attn:** SSA [redacted]

**From:** Miami
Squad PB-2, PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

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**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:**

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062

**Title:** CHANGED
JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To request assignment of co-case agent and submit documents to case file.

**Previous Title:** Title marked "Changed" to reflect additional subjects and the removal of [redacted] from case title.

Title previously carried as "JEFFREY EPSTEIN; [redacted] [redacted] WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION."

**Details:** It is requested that SA [redacted] be assigned as co-case agent to the above captioned case.

The documents attached to this electronic communication are for submission to the main case file. Included in the attachment are the Palm Beach Police Department's Incident Reports and Property Receipts.

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339[redacted]01.ec

31E-MM-108062
[redacted]

Pursuant to a federal investigation regarding the sexual exploitation of minors, [redacted] [redacted] of JEFFREY EPSTEIN, was interviewed by the FBI. [redacted] identifying information is recorded below:

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Name:
Race:
Sex:
DOB:
Home Address:

Telephone:
Cellular Telephone:

Husband's Name:
Cellular Telephone:

[redacted]

31E-MM-108062-42

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 11/13/2006

**To:** New York **Attn:** SSA [redacted]
Squad 20

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Newark SSA [redacted]
RBRA-2

**From:** Miami
PB2/PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:**

[redacted]

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 (Pending)

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To request travel reference captioned case.

**Administrative:** Reference telcall between SA [redacted] [redacted] and SSA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] on 12/07/2006.

**Details:** On 07/24/2006 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Palm Beach County Resident Agency (PBCRA), opened an investigation involving multi-millionaire Jeffrey Epstein and captioned subjects. The investigation involves [redacted] [redacted]

FBI Miami, PBCRA, request travel concurrence with FBI New York and Newark for the purpose of interviewing pertinent witnesses. SA's [redacted] and AUSA [redacted] will travel on 12/14/2006 and anticipate interviewing witnesses from 12/14/2006 - 12/17/2006. It is anticipated that SA's [redacted] [redacted] and AUSA [redacted] will return to West Palm, FL on 12/17/2006.

229[redacted]01.EC

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**LEAD(s):**

**Set Lead 1: (Info)**

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

FBI Miami request travel concurrence from FBI New York to conduct witness interviews.

**Set Lead 2: (Info)**

NEWARK

AT REDBANK, NEW JERSEY

FBI Miami request travel concurrence from FBI Newark to conduct witness interviews.

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FD-302 (Rev. 10-6-95)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/04/2006

[redacted], date of birth [redacted], Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted], home telephone number [redacted] [redacted], cellular telephone number [redacted] residing at [redacted] [redacted] Florida, was interviewed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Palm Beach County Resident Agency (PBCRA), located at 505 South Flagler, West Palm Beach, Florida. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, [redacted] provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] He is currently employed by Jeffrey Epstein, NES LLC, as [redacted] [redacted] was hired by Epstein in [redacted]. Prior to being [redacted] was a [redacted] for Epstein and [redacted] was [redacted] has been employed as [redacted] [redacted] for approximately two years. He replaced [redacted] as [redacted] because, Epstein preferred [redacted] communication skills and flying techniques. Prior to his employment with Epstein, [redacted] worked as a [redacted] located in [redacted] was based next door to the Limited Corporation, owned by [redacted] Epstein's good friend.

[redacted] stated that Epstein's primary residence is located in the U.S. Virgin Islands (U.S.V.I.) and utilizes his ranch in New Mexico as a vacation retreat, four or five times a year. Epstein has not been to his Palm Beach residence since some time in 2005, due to the damage of the residence after hurricane Wilma. On a regular basis, Epstein travels to his New York office/residence, Monday through Wednesday. When traveling to the USVI, the pilots stay at the Marriot, Frenchmans Reef or Holiday Inn Express in St. Thomas. After arriving in the U.S.V.I., Epstein travels to his island by helicopter or boat. On occasion, [redacted] will fly the helicopter, tail number N491GM, or he utilizes pilots from Air Center Helicopters. [redacted] telephone number [redacted] [redacted] is Epstein's boat captain for the U.S.V.I.. While in New York, the pilots stay in corporate apartments.

[redacted] advised that Epstein does not allow any liquor, drinking nor smoking on any of his aircrafts. [redacted] has never seen any woman and/or girls under the age of twenty on Epstein's aircraft. He has never observed any inappropriate behavior or

Investigation on 11/27/2006 at West Palm Beach, Florida

File # 31E-MM-108062 Date dictated

by SA SA [redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of ______________________ , On 11/27/2006 , Page 2

anything of a sexual nature by Epstein. As a practical joke, Epstein asked [redacted] to purchase a box of condoms to place on [redacted] seat after he found out [redacted] girlfriend was pregnant. The primary item that Epstein request to be on his aircraft is Evian water. [redacted] has never seen Epstein with a girlfriend or known him to be romantically involved with anyone. b6 b7C

The flight arrangements were usually set up by [redacted] who would call [redacted] and provide flight dates, times and travel location. On occasion, [redacted] would get a call directly from Epstein or [redacted] Prior to the departure of every flight, the captain of the flight filled out the flight manifest log and aircraft log. The individual flight captain is usually rotated between pilots. The manifests are faxed to [redacted] in the New York office every two to three weeks. The aircraft logs are turned in on an annual basis. [redacted], which were requested in the issued grand jury subpoena. b3 b6 b7C

[redacted] described Epstein as having obtained his wealth from managing money. Epstein has a successful business relationship with [redacted] defined [redacted] as Epstein's best friend.

In addition to [redacted] flight duties, he provided Epstein with advice on home entertainment centers and vehicles. [redacted] installed a home theater system in Epstein's Palm Beach residence and his ranch in New Mexico. The palm beach residence has rooms identified by individual color. [redacted] recalled the green room, blue room and pink room. In addition, in Palm Beach, Epstein currently owns a black Chevrolet Suburban, three black Mercedes Benz, a turquoise Harley Davidson, and a 1972-chopper motorcycle. b6 b7C

[redacted] has heard that Epstein is provided two massages a day. When asked whom [redacted] heard that from, he responded by stating it is just rumored that he gets two a day. He further described Epstein as having back problems and on occasion utilizes heating pads. When at the ranch in New Mexico, Epstein is provided massages by both male and females. [redacted] LNU, ranch manager, arranges masseuses from "Ten Thousand Waves" salon in Santa Fe, to provide massages to Epstein and [redacted]

[redacted] received a $[redacted] Christmas bonus this year and a [redacted] bonus last year. [redacted] stated he received the

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31E-MM-108062

Continuation of FD-302 of ______________________________, On 11/27/2006, Page 3

monies in cash and later clarified the bonuses came by company check. [redacted] stated he had only had two disagreements with Epstein and both were over maintenance for the aircrafts.

[redacted] provided Epstein's cellular telephone, (646) 541-1751, and email, JEEPROJECT@Yahoo.com.

The below list of current and past employees were provided by [redacted]

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[redacted]

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31E-MM-108062

Continuation of FD-302 of ____________________, On 11/27/2006, Page 4

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** PRIORITY **Date:** 12/06/2006

**To:** Albuquerque Santa Fe RA
[redacted] [redacted]
San Juan St. Thomas RA

[redacted]

**From:** Miami
Squad PB-2, PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

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**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:**

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 (Pending)

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To set leads for captioned investigation.

**Details:** On 07/24/2006 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Palm Beach County Resident Agency (PBCRA), began investigating Jeffrey Epstein, a part-time resident of Palm Beach, along with [redacted] [redacted]. PBCRA obtained information from the City of Palm Beach Police Department (PBPD) [redacted]

[redacted]

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31E-MM-108062-49

[redacted]

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In addition to the home in Palm Beach, Epstein also maintains a residence in the U.S. Virgin Islands, New York and New Mexico.

To date, the PBCRA continues to develop witnesses and victims from across the United States. Due to the media coverage, unknown status of the state investigation, vulnerability of the young female victims, and political influences, the AUSAs and Case Agents have a target date of January 2007 for indictment.

Based on the ongoing criminal investigation, the PBCRA is requesting the assistance in establishing Epstein's criminal activity utilizing interstate commerce and the travel in interstate commerce to engage in illicit sexual conduct and prostitution. Prior to conducting captioned leads, it is requested that the lead agent(s) contact SA [redacted] FBI Miami, West Palm RA, [redacted] or SA [redacted] [redacted] for investigative direction and questions.

**LEAD(s):**

**Set Lead 1: (Action)**

ALBUQUERQUE

AT SANTA FE , NM

Interview [redacted] Jeffrey Epstein's, Zorro Ranch, 49 Zorro Ranch Road, Stanley, New Mexico.

**Set Lead 2: (Action)**

SAN JUAN

AT ST. THOMAS, U.S.V.I.

Interview [redacted], cellular telephone number of [redacted], residence telephone number [redacted] [redacted] Jeffrey Epstein located on the island of Little St. James. [redacted].

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**Set Lead 3: (Action)**

SAN JUAN

AT ST. THOMAS, U.S.V.I.

Locate and Interview [redacted] telephone number [redacted]. This is the only information FBI Miami currently has on [redacted].

**Set Lead 4: (Discretionary)**

[redacted]

Interview [redacted] [redacted] Florida.

**Set Lead 5: (Action)**

[redacted]

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Interview [redacted] Florida.

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(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 12/20/2006

**To:** Miami

**From:** Miami
FIG-5
**Contact:** Ia [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:**

[redacted]

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**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 (Pending)
800A-MM-C102437-AS34 (Pending)

**Title:** CREATION OF i2 ANALYST NOTEBOOK CHARTS

**Synopsis:** To document assistance provided to Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] in the creation of i2 Analyst Notebook Charts.

**Details:** Intelligence Assistant (Ia) [redacted] provided assistance in the creation of i2 Analyst Notebook Charts for the above-mentioned case. The charts were produced according to the specifications of Special Agent [redacted] and did not require any research or analysis on the part of Ia [redacted]. The charts depicted the arrival and departure dates of the target and included the phone calls that were made the day prior to his arrival, during his stay and the day after his departure. Ia [redacted] created a total of 16 charts. The charts ranged in date from 02/10/2005 through 10/06/2005.

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31E-MM-108062-50

FD-302 (Rev. 10-6-95)

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Date of transcription 08/22/2006

[redacted] was interviewed at her residence in West Palm Beach, Florida regarding a federal investigation involving the sexual exploitation of minors. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, [redacted] provided the following information:

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[redacted] was employed as the [redacted] for JEFFREY EPSTEIN's residence on the island of Palm Beach, Florida. She began working for EPSTEIN approximately [redacted] stated [redacted] (believed by [redacted] to be EPSTEIN's girlfriend at the time) was the person who hired her. It was through [redacted] and her association with [redacted] and EPSTEIN that [redacted] came to be employed at the EPSTEIN residence. According to [redacted] it was while [redacted] was working at one of the salons on Palm Beach she met both [redacted] and EPSTEIN. [redacted] stated that [redacted] provided massages to EPSTEIN.

While employed at the EPSTEIN residence, [redacted] primary responsibilities were to have the house ready for the arrival of either EPSTEIN or [redacted] and their guests. [redacted] ensured the house was stocked with food, beverages, and fresh flowers. [redacted] would also help in the arrangement of transportation to and from the airport.

[redacted] stated that there was a high rate of turnover among the staff employed at the EPSTEIN residence because EPSTEIN, [redacted], and others were not very nice to the hired help. [redacted] stated EPSTEIN was nice in the beginning but became "mean." [redacted] believed [redacted]

[redacted] was never at the residence when EPSTEIN was having a massage. [redacted] stated she had taken many messages from girls who wanted to work for EPSTEIN. The girls would want to know when EPSTEIN was coming to town and they would want her to take a message, so EPSTEIN could return their call. [redacted] would leave the messages on the counter so that when EPSTEIN would arrive in from out of town he could review them. One Christmas, [redacted] was asked to call 5 or 6 of EPSTEIN's "massage girls" and relay to them that they could stop to pick up their Christmas gift. Although not

Investigation on 08/17/2006 at West Palm Beach, Florida

File # 31E-MM-108062 Date dictated 08/17/2006

by SA SA [redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 08/17/2006, Page 2

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positive, [redacted] believed she was asked to do this task around Christmas 2004.

[redacted] told the interviewing agent of an incident that occurred at the EPSTEIN's residence either late summer or early fall. [redacted] was unsure of the year but knew it must have been in 2003, 2004 or 2005. The cleaning crew, [redacted], were working at the time of the incident as well. A unidentified female(UF), who looked under the age of eighteen, entered the residence demanding money. She had arrived at the residence in a taxi cab. [redacted] described her as trashy and desperate. [redacted] told the UF she was unaware of any money that had been left for the UF, but that she would call the New York Office. The UF stated that she thought EPSTEIN was going to be at the residence today. [redacted] contacted the New York Office and they instructed [redacted] to pay the UF. The New York Office stated that [redacted] could find $200.00 in EPSTEIN's desk draw and she was to use that to pay the UF. Once the UF received the money she departed the residence. [redacted] stated to the interviewing agents, that at one point she told the UF she was going to call the police if the UF did not leave, but the UF responded that she would call the police if she did not get her money.

[redacted] believed that EPSTEIN was trying to help girls make it big in the modeling industry. [redacted] told [redacted] that EPSTEIN would give money to girls to help them go to college or get them started in modeling. [redacted] stated that she may have been naive but she thought he was trying to help these girls. [redacted] stated that she knew EPSTEIN liked women and that women would visit the residence even when [redacted] was not there. [redacted] believed there were naked photographs of women throughout the residence.

[redacted] provided [redacted] contact information as the following: [redacted], Florida, telephone number [redacted] and cellular telephone number [redacted] According to [redacted] the [redacted] phone numbers are cellular telephone number [redacted]

[redacted] also provided to the interviewing agents a copy of some of the hours she worked at EPSTEIN's residence as well as some notes made by [redacted] at her time of employment with EPSTEIN. Those documents have been placed in a FD-340, a 1-A envelope, and are maintained with the case file.

FD-302 (Rev. 10-6-95)

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Date of transcription 12/13/2006

Pursuant to a federal investigation regarding the sexual exploitation of minors, [redacted], was interviewed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and purpose of the interview, [redacted] voluntarily provided the following information:

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[redacted] was formerly employed as [redacted] [redacted] in New York, New York. He was also formerly employed as [redacted] by Jeffrey Epstein. [redacted] was seeking employment and obtained the opportunity for employment with Epstein from a headhunter. [redacted] pre-employment interview for the position was conducted by Epstein and [redacted] approximately three years ago. [redacted] was employed by Epstein for approximately one year and five months before he sought employment elsewhere. [redacted] signed a confidentiality clause at the termination of his employment with Epstein.

[redacted] worked at Epstein's New York residence and was on stand-by to travel at request. He prepared meals for Epstein's guests more frequently than he prepared meals for Epstein. Epstein's favorite food item was a toasted peanut butter and jelly sandwich. [redacted] was responsible for keeping food available on the various properties where Epstein traveled. One item that [redacted] was required to have available at all times was Eli's seven grain bread purchased from 63rd or 65th Street in New York. [redacted] used Epstein's vehicles, including a Mercedes Benz and a Chevrolet Suburban, to obtain food as needed for preparation at Epstein's Palm Beach, Florida residence. Epstein provided [redacted] with a residence located at [redacted] New York, New York, as a component of [redacted] salary.

[redacted] traveled frequently with Epstein to his properties in Palm Beach, Florida, the U.S. Virgin Islands (USVI), New Mexico and New York. [redacted] also traveled to Paris, France with Epstein. Epstein owned a Gulfstream aircraft and a larger Boeing 727 aircraft. The Boeing 727 had a kitchen onboard that [redacted] used to prepare food for Epstein and his guests. During [redacted] travels, the most notable guests to travel on Epstein's aircraft were [redacted] [redacted]. Epstein instructed [redacted] to refrain from socializing with any guests on the aircraft.

Investigation on 12/13/2006 at West Palm Beach, Florida

File # 31E-MM-108062 n Date dictated 12/13/2006

by SA
SA [redacted]

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31E-MM-108062-52

b6
b7C

Young females frequently traveled on the two private aircraft with Epstein. [redacted] believed most of the females were from Spain or Russia and were 18 years of age or older, although some of their ages were questionable. Several of the females lived in the apartment building located at [redacted] New York, New York. [redacted] believed the females traveled with Epstein so they could be associated with a person of wealth. The majority of the females were aspiring models who met Epstein through [redacted] [redacted] and his modeling agency. Epstein was controlling toward the females and would not allow them to associate with other individuals. [redacted] described the women as "not very bright" referring to their intelligence.

[redacted] believed [redacted] was a personal assistant to [redacted] and Epstein. [redacted] described [redacted] as an attractive, nice girl in her 20's. [redacted] was responsible for preparing Epstein's travel arrangements.

[redacted] Last Name Unknown (LNU) was another individual who worked as an assistant to [redacted] believed [redacted] and Epstein's relationship was nothing more than friendship. [redacted] believed Epstein had feelings for [redacted] but they frequently did not get along. [redacted] provided [redacted] contact information stored in his cellular telephone: email [redacted] work telephone [redacted] home telephone [redacted] mobile telephone [redacted] and PIN [redacted] was unaware of what the PIN represented.

One unknown male, 20's in age, frequently brought local teenaged females to Epstein's residence in Palm Beach, Florida. [redacted] believed the unknown male drove a red Honda Accord. [redacted] estimated that approximately four or five teenaged females would visit Epstein's Palm Beach residence daily. Sometimes the females at the residence would go upstairs with Epstein and sometimes they would gather and talk in the living room area.

[redacted] was aware that Epstein received massages every day. In addition to massages provided by massage therapists (masseuses), local teenaged females also gave Epstein massages. [redacted] explained that it was easy to distinguish between the masseuses and the local teenaged females based on their appearance and demeanor. [redacted] was unaware of what occurred between the teenaged females and Epstein behind closed doors, but opined that Epstein was receiving more than just massages based on the number of teenaged females that were going upstairs with him. [redacted] did

31E-MM-108062

Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 12/13/2006, Page 3 b6 b7C

not know of the local teens to ever stay at Epstein's Palm Beach residence overnight. [redacted] did not have conversations with the teenaged females beyond being polite and asking if they needed anything. [redacted] did not engage in relationships with the females associated with Epstein.

[redacted] reviewed a series of images and was asked if he recognized the individuals depicted. He recognized [redacted] [redacted] an assistant to Epstein who is married to a man in Miami, Florida. He also recognized [redacted] [redacted] believed to be Epstein's girlfriend.

[redacted] a barbeque restaurant in New York City was employed as a chef for Epstein prior to [redacted] [redacted] was a former line cook at [redacted], New York, New York. [redacted] was aware that Epstein had other chefs before and after his employment but he was unable to recall their names.

[redacted] Epstein's St. Thomas, USVI property. Epstein travels to St. Thomas on his private aircraft and then takes a helicopter to his property. He also owns a four-engine speed boat he purchased at auction. The boat is used as a pleasure craft and is also used as a shuttle for Epstein's staff.

[redacted] Epstein's New York residence. [redacted] may reside in the [redacted] Street apartment building.

[redacted] at Epstein's New York residence. On one occasion, [redacted] gave [redacted] a tour of Epstein's New York residence which [redacted] believed was a former high school.

[redacted] Epstein's New Mexico ranch located near Santa Fe. [redacted] recalled a Russian man named [redacted] (phonetic) LNU who worked at Epstein's Palm Beach residence. Epstein also had a cleaning crew for the Palm Beach residence but [redacted] was unaware of the crew member's names.

[redacted] heard stories of girls who attempted to steal items from Epstein's residence and were sent home and not allowed to return. [redacted] did not observe or hear any disturbances during his employment for Epstein.

Pursuant to a federal investigation regarding the sexual exploitation of minors, [redacted] was interviewed by the FBI. [redacted] identifying information is recorded below:

b6
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Name:
Race:
Sex:
DOB
Home Address:

Cellular Telephone:
Employment:

[redacted]

31E - MM - 108062-53

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 06/21/07 Time: 13:39

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 54

Description of Document:

Type : FD909
Date : 01/04/07
To : [redacted]
From : MIAMI
Topic: [redacted] b3

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to subpoena sub

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 57

Employee: [redacted] b6 b7C

31E-MM-108062-54

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 06/21/07 Time: 13:41

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 55

Description of Document:

Type : FD909
Date : 01/15/07
To : [redacted] b3
From : MIAMI
Topic: [redacted]

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to subpoena sub

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 58

Employee: [redacted] b6 b7C

31E- MM-108062-55

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 06/21/07 Time: 13:44

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 56

Description of Document:

Type : FD909
Date : 01/15/07
To : [redacted]
From : MIAMI
Topic: [redacted] b3

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to subpoena sub

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 59

Employee: [redacted] b6 b7C

31E-MM-108062-56

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 01/25/2007

**To:** Miami **Attn:** Third Party Draft

**From:** Miami
Squad PB-2
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:**

b6
b7C

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 (Pending)

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To request funds for expenses associated to the above captioned case.

**Enclosure(s):** Enclosed for Miami Third Party Draft: [redacted] [redacted]

**Details:** SA [redacted] requests Third Party Draft provide [redacted] [redacted]. Prior authorization was obtained from ASAC [redacted].

b3
b6
b7C

SA [redacted] requests Third Party Draft provide [redacted]

31E-MM-108062-57
[illegible]

**LEAD(s):**

**Set Lead 1: (Info)**

MIAMI

AT MIAMI

Third Party Draft shall [redacted] to pay expenses associated with the captioned case. b3

◆◆

FD-302 (Rev. 10-6-95)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 08/18/2006

[redacted] dob [redacted] residing at [redacted] [redacted] Florida, telephone number(s) [redacted] and [redacted] (cellular), was interviewed at the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, PALM BEACH COUNTY RESIDENT AGENCY's Office, West Palm Beach, Florida. Also present at the interview was [redacted] attorney, [redacted] of LYONS AND SANDERS, 600 Northeast 3rd Avenue, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida 33304, telephone number(s) [redacted] and [redacted] (cellular). After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, [redacted] provided the following information:

[redacted] has been employed as a pilot for [redacted] since [redacted]. His current salary is [redacted] plus benefits. Prior to his employment with EPSTEIN, [redacted] sold aircraft for GLIMCHER, a company located near THE LIMITED Flight Department. [redacted] was employed there from [redacted]. According to [redacted] EPSTEIN has two other full time pilots, [redacted] [redacted] EPSTEIN also has a full time flight engineer, [redacted] On occasion, in 2004 and 2005, a contracted pilot, [redacted] was required to assist with flying EPSTEIN to different locations.

b6
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[redacted] was the [redacted] for EPSTEIN until [redacted] [redacted] took over the responsibilities of [redacted] after a continual disagreement between EPSTEIN and [redacted] on landing techniques. This was a demotion and a decrease in pay for [redacted] stated that EPSTEIN was unhappy with the method in which [redacted] landed the aircraft when arriving at Palm Beach International Airport.

[redacted] provided the interviewing agents, via a Grand Jury Subpoena, [redacted]

[redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

Investigation on 08/15/2006 at West Palm Beach, Florida

File # 31E-MM-108062 Date dictated 08/15/2006

by SA [redacted]
SA

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b7C

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would pilot either aircraft without EPSTEIN being a passenger on the planes.

The Boeing 727, tail number N908JE, is owned by a subsidiary company of EPSTEIN, JEGE, INCORPORATED, and can fly up to 26 passengers. The Gulfstream, tail number N909JE, is owned and operated by another of EPSTEIN's subsidiary companies, HYPERION AIR, INCORPORATED, and can fly up to 12 passengers. [redacted] believes EPSTEIN has separate entities for each plane for liability reasons. [redacted] stated that EPSTEIN also owned a six passenger Helicopter, Bel 407, tail number 491GM.

[redacted] stated that he would usually receive notification from [redacted] or from EPSTEIN's office when flight arrangements were being made. Lead time for a trip most commonly was between eight to twenty-four hours. [redacted] EPSTEIN's personal assistant, was responsible for coordinating travel arrangements for EPSTEIN. [redacted] believed that [redacted] took over primary duties as EPSTEIN's personal assistant from [redacted] in late 2001. [redacted] would handle setting up the staff for EPSTEIN's visits to his multi residences as well as transportation needs to and from the airports.

[redacted] advised that he had never witnessed any underage females aboard the aircrafts. However [redacted] did state that there had been to many to count when it came to females ranging in age from 21 to 23. [redacted] also said that he had never observed any sex toys aboard either of EPSTEIN's aircraft.

When the interviewing agents asked [redacted] for specific telephone numbers for several individuals, [redacted] provided the information from a personal digital assistant(PDA). The below list of individuals, primarily, current and past employees of EPSTEIN, were provided by [redacted]

JEFFREY EPSTEIN - New York Residence, telephone number (212)772-9416; London residence, telephone number 0044767785771552; cellular telephone number (917)601-4143; Columbus, Ohio residence telephone numbers (614)371-4444 and (614)371-1213; Cambridge, Massachusetts (617)496-4667

[redacted]

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/01/2006

[redacted] date of birth [redacted], place of birth [redacted], residing at [redacted] Florida [redacted] home telephone number [redacted] cellular telephone numbers [redacted] was interviewed at the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) PALM BEACH COUNTY RESIDENT AGENCY (PBCRA), located at 505 S. Flagler Drive, West Palm Beach, Florida. Also present at the interview was Attorney [redacted] of LYONS AND SANDERS, 600 Northeast 3rd Avenue, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida 33304, telephone number(s) [redacted] and [redacted] (cellular) and Attorney [redacted] of ATTERBURY GOLDBERGER & WEISS, P.A., 250 Australian Avenue, #1400, West Palm Beach, Florida 33401, telephone number [redacted]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, [redacted] provided the following information:

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[redacted] is currently a full time pilot employed by JEFFREY EPSTEIN as [redacted] for EPSTEIN's airplanes. [redacted] has been employed by EPSTEIN since [redacted]. Prior employment included piloting as [redacted] for The Limited Brands, specifically [redacted]. He began working for [redacted] and remained there until the [redacted] was offered an opportunity to advance and took a piloting job, flying executives for the Venetian Hotels, Las Vegas, Nevada. Due to difficulties with the Chairman of the Board, [redacted]. Through [redacted] association with [redacted] EPSTEIN's [redacted] contact with EPSTEIN while working for [redacted] was offered his current employment. [redacted] stated that while piloting for [redacted] he had not seen any young females passengers.

[redacted] stated his current salary is $[redacted]. [redacted] was paid a Christmas bonus of [redacted] gross income. stated that EPSTEIN has three full time captains with one being the chief captain, [redacted] stated that in his position he would be "on call." [redacted] continued explaining that [redacted] would contact him providing short notice, usually a days notice, when EPSTEIN would need him to pilot an aircraft.

When piloting an aircraft for EPSTEIN, [redacted] or the co-pilot would always complete two forms. The first form, required by the FAA, was a maintenance log, which would record the date of

Investigation on 11/27/2006 at West Palm Beach, Florida

File # 31E-MM-108062 Date dictated 12/01/2006

by [redacted]

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31E-MM-108062-59

flight, as well as; air time for the aircraft. The other form was a flight manifest which, among other items, listed number of passengers, in some cases identity of passengers, departure and arrival destinations as well as date and time of flight. The flight manifest is not required by law; however, both forms are completed by the designated captain of the flight. These responsibilities are rotated amongst the pilots. The forms are sent to the office on a monthly basis.

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[redacted] has never observed underage girls (under twenty) as passengers on EPSTEIN's airplanes. [redacted] did state that once or twice children accompanied by adults were passengers on the airplanes.

[redacted] stated that he has strictly a business relationship with EPSTEIN. [redacted] believed that EPSTEIN is a financial money manager. [redacted] has never socially been to any of EPSTEIN's residences. [redacted] interviewed for his current job at EPSTEIN's Palm Beach residence.

[redacted] provided, EPSTEIN's [redacted] cellular telephone number as [redacted]

[redacted] provided the following address as a past residence:

[redacted]

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 02/06/07  Time: 14:34

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062  Serial: 63

Description of Document:

Type : OTHER
Date : 01/23/07
To : [redacted]
From : US DISR COURT
Topic: EXECUTIVE FGJ SUBPOENA FOR [redacted]

b3

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to the sub sbp

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP  Serial: 3

Employee: [redacted]

b6
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31E-MM-108062-63

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 02/06/07 Time: 14:35

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 64

Description of Document:

Type : INLET
Date : 01/24/07
To : [redacted]
From : US ATTORNEY
Topic: FGJ SUBPOENA FOR [redacted]

b3

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to sub sbp

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 4

Employee: [redacted]

b6
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31E-MM-108062-64

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 02/06/07 Time: 14:36

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 65

Description of Document:

Type : OTHER
Date : 01/23/07
To : [redacted]
From : US DIST COURT
Topic: EXECUTIVE FGJ SUBPOENA FOR [redacted]

b3

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to sbp sub

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 5

Employee: [redacted]

b6
b7C

31E-MM-108062-65

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 02/06/07 Time: 14:37

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 66

Description of Document:

Type : INLET
Date : 01/24/07
To : [redacted] b3
From : US ATTORNEY
Topic: RE: FGJ SUBPOENA SERVED ON [redacted]

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to sbp sub

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 6

Employee: [redacted] b6 b7C

31E-MM-108062-66

EC902157

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 02/15/2007

**To:** Miami **Attn:** Palm Beach County RA
SA [redacted]

**From:** Albuquerque
Squad 13/ Santa Fe RA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

**Approved By:** [redacted] -67

**Drafted By:**

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 (Pending)

(X) [redacted]

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA-CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To report results of covered lead.

**Enclosure(s):** Enclosed are the original and one copy of FD-302 interview of [redacted] and agent's original notes.

**Details:** An interview of [redacted] was conducted on 02/08/2007 at 49 Zorro Ranch Road, Stanley, New Mexico. Results of the interview are contained in the enclosed FD-302.

Pending further direction from Miami, Santa Fe RA considers this lead covered.

31E-MM-108062-67

FD-302 (Rev. 10-6-95)

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 02/13/2007

[redacted] date of birth [redacted] Social Security Account Number [redacted] [redacted], New Mexico was interviewed at [redacted] ZORRO RANCH, Stanley, New Mexico. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, and the nature of the interview, [redacted] provided the following information:

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[redacted] JEFFREY EPSTEIN for approximately [redacted] years. There are 5 to 6 full-time staff at the ranch as well as some seasonal employees. EPSTEIN spends approximately fifty(50) days a year at the ranch during his down time, mostly in the summer. In the summer, EPSTEIN generally spends 2 to 3 weeks at a time at the ranch and is shuttled around by helicopter. The last time EPSTEIN was at the ranch was Thanksgiving 2006. EPSTEIN normally flies into either Albuquerque or Santa Fe and is driven to the ranch. Very little notice is given before EPSTEIN flies to the ranch, usually 24 to 48 hours. EPSTEIN usually brings his personal assistant, [redacted] his bodyguard, friends, personal trainer, and sometimes his masseuses.

The masseuses are not normally flown to the ranch, but are hired by [redacted] keeps the financial records and usually arranges the massages. The names of the masseuses are obtained from TEN THOUSAND WAVES DAY SPA or by referrals. [redacted] said that the masseuses are all checked out and that they are professionals who are licensed massage therapists. There have been approximately 5 different therapists used in the past.

[redacted] said [redacted] could provide the names of the therapists used, and the amounts paid to them, but that we needed to go to the office to meet with her. Upon arriving at the office and greeting [redacted] received a phone call from the "main office" that told him they were no longer allowed to speak with us. The interview was immediately ended.

Investigation on 02/08/2007 at Stanley, New Mexico

File # 31E-MM-108062 - 70

Date dictated 02/13/2007

by SA
SA [redacted]

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FD-302a (Rev. 10-6-95)

31E-MM-108062

Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 02/08/2007, Page 2

A records check of [redacted] provided the following information: b6 b7C

Race:
Sex:
Date of birth:
Social Security Number:
[redacted]

[Please insert on your letterhead]

[Please insert the date here]

US DHS CIS
Vermont Service Center
30 Houghton Street
St. Albans, VT 05478

**Re: Ms. [redacted] Immigration Application**

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am writing this letter on behalf of Ms. [redacted] and in connection with her O-1 Visa Application.

My name is David Blaine and I am a magician, an illusionist and an endurance artist. I am known for my high-profile feats of endurance, and have made my name as a performer of street and close-up magic. I have performed all over the world and have set and broken several world records, including holding my breath for more than 17 minutes, spending 35 hours atop a 105-foot pole and surviving a week buried in a coffin. I have traveled internationally performing magic privately for President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, President George W. Bush, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld at the Pentagon, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, Henry Kissinger, Bill Gates and Mayor Michael Bloomberg. I have also performed magic for the President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev, the President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili, the President of Ukraine Victor Yanukovych, and the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev.

I met [redacted] a few years ago through mutual friends and I was highly impressed with her: I first met her as an amazing fashion model, but, then, I discovered her intelligence, education, and her passion for children and education. So, when I saw the other side of Svet, performing her own brand of magic in fundraisers and other high end charitable events and organizations, I realized what an amazingly talented public relations and fundraising expert she is, and I was not surprised the least.

When it comes to organizing events, finding A-list funders for her causes, in my opinion, [redacted] is at the top of her game and is a true magician—the success stories she pulled for the children on the US Virgin Islands, the Ivory Coast, and many others are true miracles. She really makes a difference in the lives of the world's children.

It is not easy to raise money for education, especially technical/ STEM education: People only reach into their pockets with the correct enticement.

And not everyone is inclined to support the same causes. A fundraiser and public relations expert of extraordinary ability recognizes this—can find, target, and approach the correct people for their cause, and then recruit them with the correct individual enticements. Repeating myself, this is a very difficult thing to pull off. [redacted]was able to pull this off amazingly, not only with great efficiency and success, but with also great ease and grace; and she is on a roll—and it doesn't look like she will stop anytime soon.

These are my qualified opinions: I am no stranger to raising money for children. Every year, I travel all across the country and the world to perform magic for children's hospital wards, burn units and juvenile wards, including Spofford, Bridges, Horizon, and Crossroads. I spent time performing magic for Paul Newman and the children diagnosed with serious illnesses at the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, among many other charitable activities.

I've been discussing with [redacted] how we can work together in raising money for children and education. Therefore, I wholeheartedly support her visa application. If her visa application is approved, I don't see why we wouldn't combine our unique forms of magic and help the world's children!

Please feel free to contact me if you have any further questions or concerns.

Best Regards,

David Blaine

## Are Rape Jokes Funny?

Abortion was still illegal in 1970. At the time, as both an underground abortion referral service and a stand-up satirist, I faced an undefined paradox. I wouldn' t allow victims to become the target of my humor, yet there was one particular routine I did that called for a "rape-in" of legislators' wives in order to impregnate them so that they would then convince their husbands to decriminalize abortion.

When abortion was against the law, I thought it would never be legalized in my lifetime. But then, after *Roe vs Wade*, I thought abortion would never be *illegal* again. So now, in 2012, it's been disheartening to see the right-wing religious conservative movement that supposedly wants to keep government out of our lives, while simultaneously promulgating compulsory transvaginal ultrasound probes, in the process of trying to *re*-criminalize reproduction rights in my lifetime.

Things seem to be going backward. The Dinosaur Follies--better known as the Republican presidential primaries—were bizarre and surrealistic. Most despicable was the way they all pandered to their fanatical anti-choice constituents. My unofficial Campaign Pandering

Award went to the Champiom of Anti-Choice, Mitt Romney. He wanted to destroy Planned Parenthood and to overturn *Roe vs. Wade*.

But, returning to my rape-in concept, feminist friends objected. I resisted at first, because it was such a well-intentioned joke. And then I reconsidered. Even in a joke, why should women be assaulted because men made the laws? Legislators' wives were the victims in that joke, but the legislators themselves were the oppressors, and their hypocrisy was really my target. But for me to stop doing that bit of comedy wasn't chickenshit censorship, it was empathetic editing.

* * *

Now, in July 2012, more than four decades later, rape-joking triggered a widespread controversy when a woman who prefers to remain anonymous went to a comedy club, expecting to be entertained. She chose the Laugh Factory in Hollywood because Dane Cook was on the bill, but he was followed by Daniel Tosh, and she had never heard of him.

In an email to her *Tumblr* blogger friend, she accused Tosh of saying that "rape jokes are always funny, how can a rape joke not be funny, rape jokes are hilarious." She was so offended that she felt morally compelled to shout, "Actually, rape jokes are *never* funny!" Tosh paused and then seized the opportunity, responding, “Wouldn’t it be funny if that girl got raped by like five guys? Like right now? What if a bunch of guys just raped her?” The audience laughed raucously. After all, isn’t anyone who yells at a comedian practically asking to become an immediate target? But this woman was stunned and humiliated, and she left. In the lobby, she demanded to see the manager, who apologized profusely and gave her free tickets for another night--admitting, however, that she understood if this woman never wanted to return.

In her email, she concluded that, “having to basically flee while Tosh was enthusing about how hilarious it would be if I was gang-raped in that small, claustrophobic room was pretty viscerally terrifying and threatening all the same, even if the actual scenario was unlikely to take place. The suggestion of it is violent enough and was meant to put me in my place.” She added, “Please re-blog and spread the word.” And indeed, it went viral.

Coincidentally, on the same night that Tosh, in his signature sarcastic approach to reality, provoked the woman, Sarah Silverman was performing at Foxwords Casino, and she touched upon the same taboo subject: “We need more rape jokes. We really do. Needless to say, rape, the most heinous crime imaginable, seems it’s a comic’s dream, though. It’s because it seems when you do rape jokes, that the material is so dangerous and edgy, and the truth is, it’s like the safest area to talk about in comedy ’cause who’s gonna complain about a rape joke? Rape victims? They don’t even *report* rape. They’re just traditionally not complainers.”

Ironically, in *The Aristocrats*, a documentary entirely about a classic joke of the same name, Silverman complained (facetiously) that she was once raped by show-biz legend Joe Franklin. Also, her rape tips for men include, "Carry a rape whistle. If you find that you are about to rape someone, blow the whistle until someone comes to stop you." However, another joke of hers goes like this: “I was raped by a doctor—which is so bittersweet for a Jewish girl.”

In the magazine *Bitch (* “Feminist Response to Pop Culture”), an article titled “Laughing It Off: What Happens When Women Tell Rape Jokes?” by Katherine Leyton stated: “Some female comics tell jokes that clearly target rape culture, such as one classic skit by veteran comedian Wanda Sykes, ‘Even as little girls we’re taught we have something everybody wants—you gotta protect it, you gotta be careful, you gota cherish it. That's a lot of fucking pressure! I would like a break! You know what would make my life so much easier? Wouldn't it be wonderful if our *pussies were detachable?'* The joke goes on to detail situations where you could leave your 'detachable pussy' at home, mainly to avoid the chance of rape."

* * *

In the fall of 1981, I booked myself for a cross-country tour, from New York to Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

While I was in New York, a nun was raped. When I got to Chicago, the rapist was also there. He had given himself up to the police. On stage I explained the true reason why: "He heard that the Mafia, in a rush of Christian compassion, put a $25,000 contract out on his life." That part was true. "So now I'm asking the Mafia to use their clout to end the war in El Salvador since *four* nuns were raped and killed there." They must've heard my request. By the time I got to Los Angeles, the *Herald-Examiner* was reporting that the Mafia was "probably the largest source of arms for the rebels in El Salvador."

In the spring of 1982, there was a Radical Humor Festival at New York University. That weekend, the festival sponsored an evening of radical comedy. The next day, my performance was analyzed by an unofficial women's caucus. Robin Tyler ( “I am not a lesbian comic--I am a comic who is a lesbian” ) served as the spokesperson for their conclusions. What had caused a stir was my reference to the use of turkey basters by single mothers-to-be who were attempting to impregnate themselves by artificial insemination. Tyler explained to me, “You have to understand, some women still have a hang-up about penetration.”

Well, I must have been suffering from Delayed Punchline Syndrome, because it wasn't until I was returning on a plane, contemplating the notion that freedom of absurdity transcends gender difference, that I finally did respond, in absentia: “Yeah, but *you* have to understand, some men still feel threatened by turkey basters.”

* * *

*The Onion* posted a story about a college dorm that was nicknamed “The Rape Hall.” And an *Ironic Times* headline stated, “Quaaludes Ends Its Relationship With Bill Cosby.” Earlier in Amy Schumer’ s stand-up career, she told this joke: “I used to date Hispanic guys, but now I prefer consensual.” She has since been accused of racist comedy. “I used to do a lot of short dumb joke like that,” she responded.” I played a dumb white girl onstage. I am evolving as an artist. I am taking responsibility and hope I haven’ t hurt anyone. I apologize if I did.”

Indeed, in an episode of *Inside Amy Schumer* on Comedy Central, a sketch--*Football Town Nights* parodying *Friday Night Lights*--featured a Texas town' s new high school football coach. He informs his teenage squad that he' s going to be doing things differently. There' s going to be a no-huddle offense. Two-a-day practices are mandatory. And there will be no raping. "But we play football!," one player cries. The rest of the team chimes in: "But we play football!" "What if she thinks it' s rape, but I don' t?" "What about at-away games?" "What if my mom is the DA and won' t prosecute, can I rape?" The whole town bullies this coach for taking something away from the players that they obviously need.

In another sketch, Schumer plays a flirtatious lawyer ironically *defending* Bill by bedazzling the judge as well as the jury. On *Late Night,* Seth Myers rhetorically asks, "Why did Bill Cosby cross the road?" He answers himself, "To avoid a reporter who was asking about sexual assault allegations."

At the National Association of Television Program Executives conference, Jay Leno commented on the allegations against Bill Cosby: "I don't know why it's so hard to believe women. You to go Saudi Arabia and you need two women to testify against a man. Here you need twenty-five [now forty-five]." Leno also used one of Justin Bieber' s song hits for a punchline, pointing out that Bieber "wouldn't want to sing 'I Wanna Be Your 'Boyfriend'' to guys in prison."

On *The Daily Show,* Jon Stewart aimed his arrow at presidential candidate Donald Trump, the great Greekish god of Narcissism. Stewart shouts, "There are probably some non-rapists caught up in that tide, whether they' re unable to rape for medical reasons, or whether they' re just all raped-out." A clip shows Trump reading out loud from a report that "80% of Central American women and girls are raped crossing into the United Sates." CNN' s Don Lemon tells Trump. "That' s about women being raped, it' s not about criminals coming across the border or entering the country."

Trump: *" Somebody' s* doing the raping, Don."

"*Touche!,"* said Stewart. "I believe we have our campaign slogan: *Trump 2016--Somebody' s Doing the Raping*."

Immediately after *The Daily Show* came *The Nightly Show* with Larry Wilmore. He plays the same clip just a slightly bit longer: Trump spouting, *" Somebody' s* doing the raping, Don. I mean, you know, somebody' s *doing* the rapiing, You think the women are being raped. Well, who' s *doing* the raping?" Wilmore repeats: "*Who' s doing the raping?* Okay, who' s bringing the chips? Who' s bringing the beer? *Wait, wait. Who' s* *doing the raping?* Oh, okay, sorry about that. I didn't know, I had to ask. I have to tell you, though, as far as campaign slogans go: *Donald Trump 2016--Who's Doing the Raping?"* Hey, it sounds familiar already.

* * *

Although Daniel Tosh is a consistently unapologetic performer for the sardonic material he exudes on his Comedy Central series--which features a running theme of rape jokes, even including one about his sister--for this occasion he decided to go the Twitter route: "All the out of context misquotes aside, I'd like to sincerely apologize." He also tweeted, "The point I was making before I was heckled is there are awful things in the world but you can still make jokes about them."

According to Jamie Masada, owner of the Laugh Factory, Tosh asked the audience, "What you guys wanna talk about?" Someone called out "Rape," and a woman in the audience started screaming, "No, rape is painful, don't talk about it." Then, says Masada, "Daniel came in, and he said, 'Well, it sounds like she's been raped by five guys'—something like that. I didn't hear properly. It was a comment—it wasn't a joke at the expense of this girl." Masada claims that she sat through the rest of Tosh's performance, which received a standing ovation, before she complained to the manager.

Fellow comedians defended Tosh with their own tweets. Dane Cook: “If you journey through this life easily offended by other peoples words I think it’s best for everyone if you just kill yourself.” Doug Stanhope: “You’re hilarious. If you ever apologize to a heckler again I will rape you.” Louis C.K.: “Your show makes me laugh every time I watch it. And you have pretty eyes” --except that he wrote it after watching Tosh on TV, but before he learned about the Laugh Factory incident. Nevertheless, he was excoriated and accused of being a “rape apologist.”

But C.K. himself is no stranger to sexual-assault jokes. Onstage, he has said that he’s against rape-- “unless you have a reason, like you wanna fuck someone and they won’t let you, in which case what other option do you have?”

Conversely, in an episode of his TV series, *Louie*, he reversed such roles. After leaving a bar with an especially aggressive woman, Laurie (played by Melissa Leo), that he had inadvertently met earlier, she performs fellatio on him in her pickup truck, then insists that he in turn perform cunnilingus on her. And he refuses. So, she attacks him physically with unabashed viciousness, mounts him, and he gives in to her demand. In other words, Laurie rapes Louie. No joke. To watch this scene was positively jaw-dropping. It served as a reminder of how often comedians--and their jaded audiences--find prison-rape jokes not only to be funny, but also, as in the case of pedophile Jerry Sandusky, an act of delayed justice resulting in laughter that morphs into applause. A *N.Y. Post* headline about pedophile Subway pitchman: "Enjoy a foot long in jail." And "Don't drop the soap" even made its way to the animated *Family Guy.*

Meanwhile, reacting to the Tosh tirade, Julie Burton, president of the Women's Media Center, stated: "If free speech permits a comedian to suggest a woman in his audience should be gang-raped, then it certainly permits us to object, and to ask what message this sends to survivors or to perpetuators. Tosh's comment was just one extreme example of pop culture's dismissive treatment of sexualized violence, which desensitizes audiences to enormous human suffering. Internet outcry is encouraging, but popular media needs to push back too."

And the original blogger posted another message:

"My friend and I wanted to thank everyone for there *[sic]* support and for getting this story out there. We just wanted everyone to know what Daniel Tosh had done and if you didn't agree then to stop following him. My friend is surprised to have gotten any form of an apology and doesn't wish to press any further charges against [him]." What? Press charges? Rape is a crime. Rape jokes aren't. They are the risk of free speech. The blog concluded, "She does plan on returning to comedy shows in the future, but to see comedians that she's seen before or to at least look up artists before going to their shows."

Wait till she finds out that Dane Cook suggested she kill herself.

* * *

Now, over forty years since I stopped presenting my concept about a rape-in of legislators' wives, I sent the first draft of this piece around to several friends, and I was particularly touched by a response from Emma Cofod, production manager at my then-publisher, Soft Skull Press:

“Thank you for sharing this! I truly appreciate your thoughts here. I read about this woman's complaint last week, and the whole event turned my stomach. What Tosh did was personally threatening, which is not OK. But even though I fall neatly into the feminist camp, I think your original joke is hilarious—within context, and coming from a comedian whose philosophy I identify with. Color me conflicted.”

I think that kind of conflict is healthy. And then there was Louis C.K.’ s appearance on *The Daily Show*. This is what he told Jon Stewart between interruptions:

“If this [controversy about Tosh] is like a fight between comedians and bloggers--hyperbole and garbage comes out of those two places, just uneducated, unfettered--it’ s also a fight between comedians and feminists, because they’ re natural enemies, because, stereotypically speaking, feminists can’ t take a joke, and on the other side, comedians can’ t take criticism. Comedians are big pussies. So to one side you say, ‘If you don’ t like a joke, stay out of the comedy clubs.’ To the other side you say, ‘If you don’ t like criticism, stop Googling yourself every ten seconds, because nobody’ s making you read it.’ It’ s positive. To me, all dialogue is positive. I think you should listen.

"If somebody has the opposite feeling from me, I wanna *hear* it so I can *add* to mine. I don' t wanna obliterate theirs with mine, that' s how I feel. Now, a lot of people don' t feel that way. For me, any joke about anything bad is great, that' s how *I* feel. Any joke about rape, a Holocaust, the Mets--*aarrgghh*, whatever--any joke about something bad is a positive thing. But now I' ve read some blogs during this whole [controversy] that made me enlightened at things I didn' t know. This woman said how rape is something that polices women' s lives, they have a narrow corridor, they can' t go out late, they can' t go to certain neighborhoods, they can' t dress a certain way, because they might--I never–-that' s part of me now that wasn' t before, and I can still enjoy the rape jokes.

"But this is also about men and women, because a lot of people are trading blogs with each other, couples are fighting about Daniel Tosh and rape jokes--that' s what I' ve been reading in blogs--but they' re both making a classic gender mistake, because the women are saying, 'Here' s how I *feel* about this,' but they' re also saying, 'My feelings should be everyone' s primary concern.' Now the men are making this mistake, they' re saying, 'Your feelings don' t matter, your feelings are wrong and your feelings are stupid.' If you' ve ever lived with a woman, you can' t step in shit worse than that, than to tell a woman that her feelings don’t matter. So, to the men I say, ‘Listen to what the women are saying about this.’ To the women I say, “Now that we heard you, shut the fuck up for a minute, and let’s all get back together and kill the Jews.’ That’s all I have to say about it.”

The audience laughed and applauded, as they did fifty years ago when Lenny Bruce ended a riff on prejudice: “Randy, it won’t matter any more even if you are colored and I’m Jewish, and even if Fritz is Japanese, and Wong is Greek, because then we’re all gonna stick together—and beat up the Polacks.”

My notion of a rape-in of legislators’ wives in order to impregnate them was no more meant to be taken literally than Louis C.K.’s killing the Jews or Lenny’s beating up the Polacks. Rape-in was a misunderstood metaphor; a pro-choice parable that unfortunately has become timely again, but now my target has been clarified, though it's still those increasingly incredible sexist legislators.

Take Missouri Senator Todd Akin—please. Referring to conception during a rape, when he said, “If it’s a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try to shut that whole thing down,” he jumped the proverbial shark. And when Indiana Senate candidate Richard Mourdock said that if a woman is impregnated by a rapist, “it is something that God intended to happen,” he jumped the sperm whale.

No professional comedian had the imagination to come up with such tragicomic satirical concepts as those. The funniest thing is that neither Akin nor Mourdock was trying to be funny. They were simply being their ignorant selves, a pair of religious fanatics who worship a micromanaging deity that made them legitimate assholes in the first place. The good news is that they both were defeated on Election Day. The Republican presidential campaign was crystallized by “Keep the government out of my Medicare,” and the Democratic presidential campaign was crystallized by “Keep the government out of my vagina.”

While Mitt Romney believes that life begins at conception, Rick Santorum believes that life begins at foreplay. He has gone way beyond his frenzied position against women’s right to abortion. He’s also against birth control, even though that would *prevent* the need for an abortion. He claims that “contraception is *not* okay” and that it turns sex into “simply pleasure.” He has also vowed to “ban all pornography,” even though watching porn would *prevent* the need for contraception.

And so it came to pass that Barack Obama was re-elected. His opponent, Romney, fell to his knees and pleaded, “Oh, dear Lord, you promised that I would win. Why hast thou forsaken me?" And the voice of God boomed out, *"HEY, MITT, LISTEN--I WAS JUST FUCKIN' WITH YA . . ."*

**From:** Darren Indyke [redacted]
**Sent:** 8/17/2016 3:27:07 PM
**To:** Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Fwd: Privileged and Confidential - Fwd: JAMES PATTERSON NEW BOOK TELLING FEDS COVER UP OF BILLIONAIRE JEFF EPSTEIN CHILD RAPES RELEASE DATE OCT 10 2016 STEVEN HOFFENBERG IS ON THE BOOK WRITING TEAM !!!!
**Attachments:** 2016.08.16 - Draft Letter to Eric Rayman re Epstein Book re Steven Hoffe....docx; Untitled attachment 110187.htm; Ex. A - 2016.08.11 - Hoffenberg Email re Being on Book Writing Team.pdf; Untitled attachment 110190.htm; Ex. B - 1997.03.05 - Sentencing Opinion.pdf; Untitled attachment 110193.htm; Ex. C - 2014.12.16 - Consent Decree re NY Post.pdf; Untitled attachment 110196.htm; Ex. D - 2016.07.05 - Order Dismissing Case.pdf; Untitled attachment 110199.htm

**Importance:** High

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New York, New York 10022
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**Date:** August 16, 2016 at 10:42:56 PM EDT
**To:** 'Darren Indyke' <[redacted]>

Darren:

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Best,

Charles

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**From:** Darren Indyke [mailto[redacted]]
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Thanks,

Regards,

Darren

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**Subject: Fwd: JAMES PATTERSON NEW BOOK TELLING FEDS COVER UP OF BILLIONAIRE JEFF EPSTEIN CHILD RAPES RELEASE DATE OCT 10 2016 STEVEN HOFFENBERG IS ON THE BOOK WRITING TEAM !!!!**
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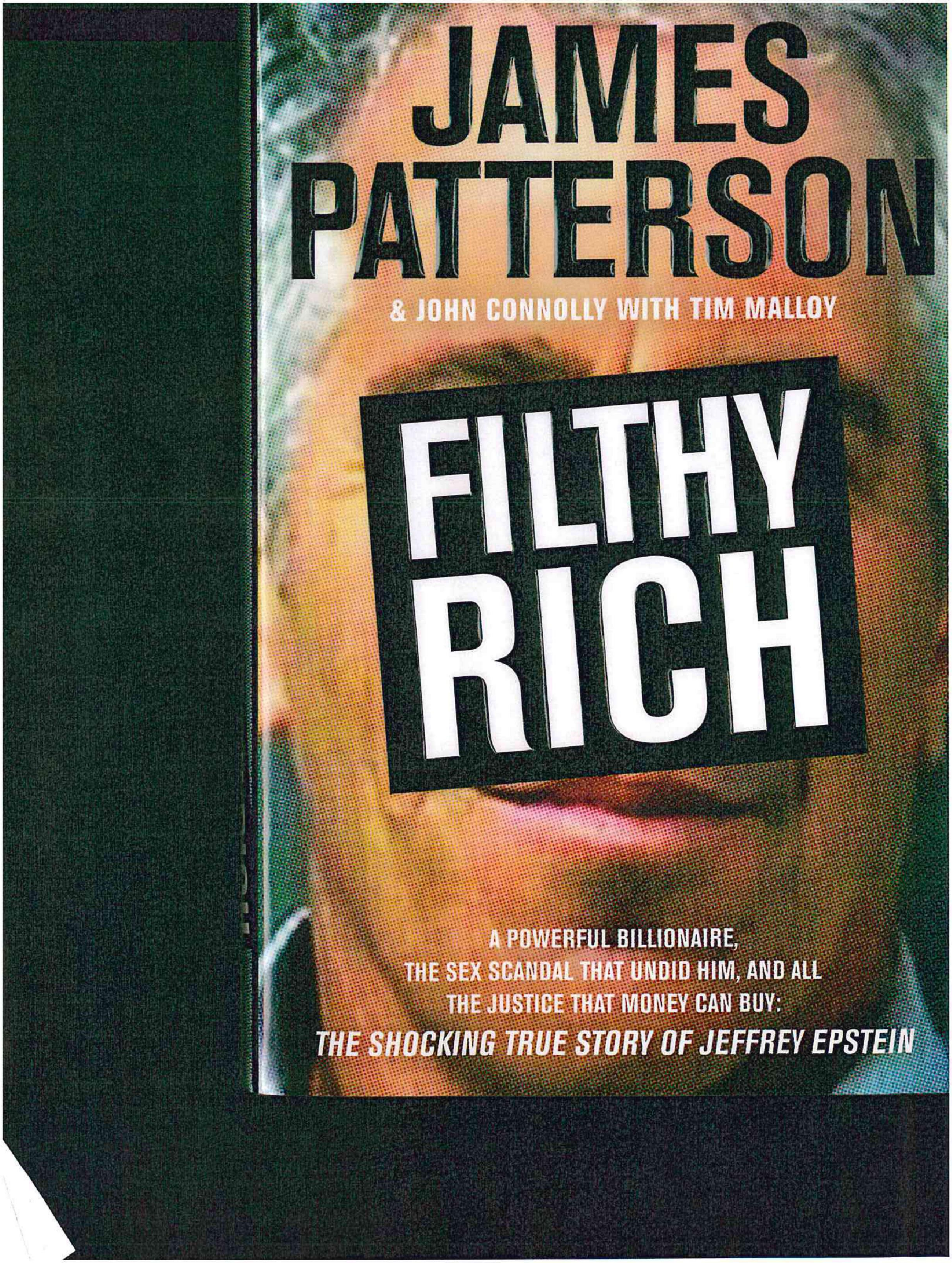

JAMES
PATTERSON

& JOHN CONNOLLY WITH TIM MALLOY

# FILTHY RICH

A POWERFUL BILLIONAIRE,
THE SEX SCANDAL THAT UNDID HIM, AND ALL
THE JUSTICE THAT MONEY CAN BUY:
*THE SHOCKING TRUE STORY OF JEFFREY EPSTEIN*

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too close to the sun."

Jeffrey Epstein: "Did

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Interviewer: "It's the Icarus story—someone who flies too close to the sun."

Jeffrey Epstein: "Did Icarus like massages?"

—New York City, 2007

# AUTHOR'S NOTE

Late one afternoon, while taking a leisurely stroll on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, Tim Malloy, a friend of mine and a collaborator on this book, nearly ran into a trim, silver-haired neighbor of ours from Palm Beach.

The man was walking down Madison Avenue, and several things about him were striking. For one thing, he was wearing slippers. Expensive, embroidered, monogrammed slippers. But slippers all the same.

For another, he was accompanied by two attractive women. Even in Manhattan, an island that attracts beautiful women from all over the world, these women stood out.

As the man half shuffled, half walked down the avenue, the women walked slightly behind him, as if they were attendants or staff.

Tim followed, keeping a respectable distance, as the threesome made a right onto 71st Street and headed toward an enormous town house—a house that was almost a fortress—right in the middle of the block. The imposing residence had a stone facade and a fifteen-foot-high front door that wouldn't have looked out of place protecting a castle. And, like our neighbor's slippers, the house had a monogram: raised brass letters that spelled out JE.

The house and, quite possibly, the two women belonged to Jeffrey Epstein, a rich and powerful man who was also a registered sex offender with a strong taste for underage women.

Not just sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds. But younger girls as well.

Epstein was alleged to have abused dozens of young women, or, more accurately, girls. He'd settled potential lawsuits with some of them. He'd done a bit of prison time for his crimes. A *bit* of time. And now here he was, out in the world again.

Accompanied by two beautiful young women.

I had been hearing hair-raising stories about Jeffrey Epstein for a couple of years. Our interests could not have been more different, but Palm Beach, where we both live, is small and tightly knit, and we knew some of the same people.

Epstein's arrest had made headlines in papers all over the world. But in Palm Beach, it caused a scandal that continues to set off aftershocks and leave a bad smell.

So I had followed Epstein's case in the media and talked about it over dinners with friends. I wondered why it had taken so long for the Palm Beach police to catch up with Epstein. And, once they did, why he had served so little jail time.

Those were the obvious questions, but there were others: How had Epstein made his money, possibly billions? No one seemed to know. And w
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seemed to know. And while the news media had some details about the underage girls, reporters seemed only to know what had happened *at the moment of his arrest.*

Epstein definitely liked his massages. He got them from two, even three, young women a day, right in his mansion on the island. He'd been operating on an almost industrial scale. But who were these girls? Where had they come from? How did they find their way to his home on a secluded street in Palm Beach?

Epstein had powerful friends. He'd flown Bill Clinton around in his private jet and rubbed shoulders with heads of state, Nobel Prize winners, any number of billionaires. Prince Andrew, the man sixth in line to the British throne, had been a close friend.

Were any of these connections the reason that Epstein was now a free man?

I wanted to know. After all, our homes were a half mile apart, and Epstein's actions had had an undeniable impact on the town where I lived. Stirred by that sighting of Epstein up in New York, Tim Malloy and I began to investigate.

We partnered with John Connolly, a tough, no-nonsense journalist who had once been a cop with the NYPD and had been following the Epstein story for close to ten years.

Working together, we interviewed Epstein's friends, going all the way back to his childhood; we met with Epstein's acquaintances, employees, neighbors, and business associates, and finally with the families of his victims. We interviewed law enforcement officers who'd worked on the investigation in Palm Beach and lawyers on all sides of the resulting court cases, some of which are still working their way through the court system.

Combining our interview material with evidence obtained from court filings and other investigations, such as the one conducted by Connolly's *Vanity Fair* colleague Vicky Ward, we began to put the pieces together.

In a few instances, we have re-created brief scenes and snatches of dialogue. These are based on interviews, police investigation documents, and court filings. We changed the names and identities of the girls, hoping to protect them from more embarrassment and harm.

There never was any doubt that Jeffrey Epstein was guilty. He admitted as much in the non-prosecution agreement he agreed to sign in 2007. The question is, what exactly was he guilty *of*?

This book attempts to answer that question and many others about this strange and mysterious man. These days people all around the world are angry about and suspicious of the super rich and powerful. The story of Jeffrey Epstein is an object lesson about why we ought to be. To put it simply, some people think they can operate outside the law. And that's what they do.

—James Patterson, Palm Beach, February 20, 2016 *'air* colleague Vicky Ward, we

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?alm Beach, February 20, 2016

# PART I

## The Crime

# CHAPTER I

## *Mary: February 2005*

It's a typically slow South Florida Sunday, and Mary's staring into the mirror, trying to wipe the morning cobwebs away from her dark, sleepy eyes.

She's a pretty girl, tiny—just five feet three inches tall—but tanned and athletic, with curly black henna-streaked hair.[*] Her bedroom's a playland of pinks and pastels, stuffed animals, and boy-band posters. But Mary's a teenager now. Fourteen years old. She even has a boyfriend. He's cute and popular. Joe[†] is the heartthrob of her school, and Mary's feelings for him are new to her, powerful, hard to untangle. She's thinking of Joe as she presses the Play button on her iPod.

The MP3 player's on shuffle. There's no telling what song will come up, and Mary's head drops dramatically in anticipation. Then a loud, sexy throb spills out of the earbuds: Britney Spears. The bass line takes over, and she starts to dance, moving her hips as she lip-synchs the lyrics:

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[*] Mary's name, some identifying details, and dialogue have been changed.

[†] Joe's name, some identifying details, and dialogue have been changed.

*With a taste of a poison paradise…*

Mary's swept away by the song. She's twirling around and around, flinging her arms out to grab the clothes hanging up in her closet—*it's like embracing ten thousand fans!* Then she stops and pulls out the earbuds. Suddenly she's become fourteen again. Just a girl, jittery, nervous.

What she's thinking about now is what she will wear to the big fancy house.

Mary desperately wants to make an impression. This will be her first trip to the house. She does not want to look like a child on this outing.

She picks out a pair of skinny white jeans, puts on a freshly washed halter top that leaves her flat stomach bare. The cross that Joe gave her last Christmas hangs from her neck.

*Think of the money*, she thinks.

For Mary, it's incredible money. Several weeks' wages at Mickey D's. And just for giving some old man a massage? She twists the earbuds back in, dives into the closet, sings along with Britney Spears:

*Don't you know that you're toxic?*

The tight white jeans fit Mary perfectly. She turns to check herself out in the mirror, cropping the scene with her fingers to

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block out the Barbies behind her. Over on the Gold Coast, girls in big, high-ceilinged bedrooms have American Girl dolls. Dolls with natural smiles, perfectly vacant moon faces. American Girl dolls are beautiful. They're expensive. But you *have* to have one if Mom and Dad are willing to pay. Over on the Coast, most mothers and fathers are. But out in the sticks, where Mary lives, you get Barbies—passed down from mother to daughter, from sister to sister. They're rail-thin, missile-breasted. There's a touch of knowingness to the curl of their otherwise innocent mouths. American Girl dolls are girlie, but Barbie's like Britney Spears. Barbie's dangling her long legs over the line that separates girls from women.

*Be like Barbie,* Mary thinks.

She *can't* be nervous. Not now. Not today.

What she tells herself, over and over again, is: *It's not that big a deal.*

But, of course, it *is* a big deal. Before long, Mary's visit to the big fancy house will become part of a months-long Palm Beach police investigation—an affidavit for probable cause, filed by the Palm Beach PD—and, finally, the arrest and conviction of the home's owner, Jeffrey Epstein.

# CHAPTER 2

## *Jeffrey Epstein: February 2005*

Jeffrey's morning routine is precise and unvarying. First he spends twenty-five minutes in silence, visualizing the day ahead as he digests the guava, banana, and Müeslix that his chef prepares for him—the same way every day—at six in the morning. Then Jeffrey walks a third of a mile up to South County Road, pausing once in a while to take deep, restorative breaths.

It's a slight slope that leads toward the ocean. Jeffrey's home on the Intracoastal Waterway is behind him now. The morning's not windy. The Atlantic is calm and glittery, and fishing trawlers bob gently on distant waves.

Jeffrey's partial to monogrammed sweatpants, monogrammed fleece pullovers, and hoodies. Casual attire offset by embroidered Stubbs & Wootton slippers—the kind that sell for hundreds of dollars a pair. His hair, which is thick, has turned silver. But Jeffrey Epstein does not have a paunch. For a fifty-two-year-old man, he's extremely fit.
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# CHAPTER 2

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man, he's extremely fit. Six feet tall, 180 pounds, brown eyes, a strong jawline.

He's never been a drinker. He doesn't smoke or take drugs, and he takes care good care of his body as well as his mind.

It's a magnificent mind. His gift is for numbers: complex calculations, abstract formulas. Even as a child, Jeffrey could untangle math problems that would stump most smart adults. Numbers just fall into place for him, forming in ranks he can bend, twist, manipulate—and *multiply*. He could have been a scientist or a mathematician. As a young man, he taught calculus and physics. Then he became an investor—a very rich man. Then he became a philanthropist, like Bill Gates. His love for science has inspired him to give millions to academics and institutions committed to studying mysteries of the brain and the arcana of physics. He's given millions to Harvard. And he's given money to politicians: Governor Eliot Spitzer, of New York, and Governor Bill Richardson, of New Mexico, where Epstein owns the largest home in the state.

Epstein's flown Bill Clinton to Africa on a private jet—not the Gulfstream he owns but his Boeing 727, customized with its own trading floor—so that the former president could promote his various and worthy causes.

Just for fun, Chris Tucker, the comedian, and Clinton's pal Kevin Spacey had tagged along for the ride.

"Jeffrey is both a highly successful financier and a committed philanthropist with a keen sense of global markets and an in-depth knowledge of twenty-first-century science," Clinton would say through a spokesperson. "I especially appreciated his insights and generosity during the recent trip to Africa to work on democratization, empowering the poor, citizen service, and combating HIV/AIDS."

But is Jeffrey thinking about that trip now?

His first guest is due that morning at nine, and that leaves him enough time for a shower, a lunch, and a few phone calls before the second girl arrives.

Sarah has scheduled that girl for one.

For Jeffrey, it's just part of the daily routine.

But on *this* day, there's a delicious twist.

One of the girls is a first-timer.

## *Mary: February 200*

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# CHAPTER 3

## *Mary: February 2005*

Downstairs, the doorbell is ringing. Mary's father shouts, gruffly:

*"Ella está aquí. Su amiga con el camión."*

"She's here. Your friend with the truck."

Mary runs down the stairs. It's game day, and Dad's already got the TV on. Her stepmom's out running errands. Mary's twin sister has gone out, too, Rollerblading with a few of her friends.

"Going shopping," she yells, and she pops a piece of Dubble Bubble into her mouth.

*"¿Dice quién?"*

"Says who?"

Mary's already halfway out the door. Her father calls out again, but on Sundays there's no getting him out of his chair. Besides, Mary knows he'll be happy when he sees the money she's made. *Real* money, like Joe's cousin Wendy Dobbs, is making.* And it's not like she's running off to do something crazy. After all, Wendy's assured her already that there's nothing to worry about.

Mary's father is Cuban—an immigrant—a self-made man who runs a contracting business. He's wise to the ways of the world and highly protective of his two daughters. They're good girls, he knows. Almost angels. As far as he knows, they don't drink. They've never tried drugs. They love clothes and, especially, music—Britney Spears, Nelly Furtado, Maroon 5, the boy band with that dreamy lead singer. Mary loves California, which she's never seen but daydreams about. She just *knows* she'll live there someday—a plan that's okay with her father as long as Mary keeps up with her homework and chores.

What he worries about, in the meantime, is the crowd that Mary runs with.

Joe is a fine boy. More responsible than most American boys his age. But Joe's cousin, Wendy, is another story. Mary's father doesn't like Wendy at all and would have liked her even less had he known about Wendy's intentions.

In just one hour, Wendy's told Mary, she can make more money than her father makes in a day: "This guy in Palm Beach. He's rich. Very rich. He has an airplane. He owns an *island*, you know?"

Like a lot of kids who live inland, away from the Florida coast, Mary's dreams reach way beyond the dull, scrubby flatlands and strip malls s
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lands and strip malls she's grown up around. There's so much that she wants to do and see. But for her the Gold Coast, twenty miles away, might as well be another country.

"*Yes*," she had said, without even thinking about it.

Then there was Joe to contend with.

"Who *is* this guy?" Joe had said, shaking his head. "You don't know a thing about him."

"*Hundreds* of dollars," Mary had whispered. She couldn't quite look at Joe, but she was firm: "I can make that in one *hour*."

Joe seemed to think they were actually talking about it. A conversation—some back-and-forth. But the thought of not going hadn't even crossed Mary's mind. If anything, she hoped that it would become a regular thing.

"To rub his *feet?* Are you kidding? If you're not worried about it, why haven't you told your dad?"

"It's your cousin, Joe! Some girls go three times a week."

"The guy's feet must be killing him."

"Shut up!"

"Tell your father."

"You know how Dad is. You don't tell *your* parents everything."

"I'm not going to some freak's mansion to rub his feet."

"That's right. *I* am."

"And if I told your father? Or mine?"

"You'd never see me again."

Mary felt bad as she said it. She felt bad for lying.

She knew that it would be more than a foot rub.

Wendy had told her that much, at least.

# CHAPTER 4

### *Jeffrey Epstein: February 2005*

John Kluge, the media magnate, has bought up several lots around here, torn down the mansions, and built a grand, sprawling estate. But Epstein's neighbors have blocked his own efforts to buy more land and increase his holdings.

Epstein's address in Palm Beach is 358 El Brillo Way. Built in the fifties by a totally run-of-the-mill architect, the house has none of the elegance of his neighbors' homes. It's big, with a big swimming pool—that's the most you can say for it. It's totally bland. But it's the last house on a dead-end block, the last block of the street, and this makes it very *secluded*.

Tonight, one of Epstein's black Escalades will whisk him away, taking him to the private terminal at Palm Beach International Airport. Then a short flight down to Little Saint James—or, as he likes to call it, Little Saint Jeff's—the seventy-eight-acre island he owns in the Virgin Islands. But for the moment, there are still things to attend
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# CHAPTER 4

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are still things to attend to in Florida. Business *and* pleasure—although, in Epstein's experience, the two have always fit together nicely.

He strolls through the gate, past the guard, up to the side door that leads to the kitchen. Inside, he ignores the maid doing dishes and climbs a wide, winding staircase to the second floor. He walks down a hallway, one that's lined with photographs of naked women. Then, in his bedroom, he opens a closet. Inside, there are many more photographs. Erotic photos, tacked to the wall, of girls who have come to the house.

Familiar faces, familiar bodies. That's what makes the first-timers so special.

Epstein checks his watch before closing the door.

The Virgin Islands can wait.

## CHAPTER 5

*Mary: February 2005*

The Dubble Bubble's lost all its flavor, but Mary's still chewing the gum as she shifts, nervously, in the backseat of Wendy's big pickup truck. The girl sitting up front next to Wendy is a stranger to Mary. She's chain-smoking menthols. The music is blaring; the seat is filthy and gross. Worried that her white jeans will get grody, Mary sits on her hands. Then, through the window, she sees a gigantic resort called the Breakers. It is resplendent, sun-drenched, not quite *real*—like something you'd see in the movies.

It makes for an interesting contrast.

"We'll wait for her," Wendy says to the girl in the passenger seat. "Then we can all go to the mall."

"Which one?"

"The Gardens."

It's like she's not there. Mary wants to say something about it,

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"Remember," Wendy s
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# CHAPTER 5

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ontrast.
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wants to say something about it,

but she doesn't know if the other girls would even respond. Wendy's always seemed so much cooler than kids Mary's age. This other girl's just a mystery. And when Wendy does turn around to speak to Mary, her stare seems to slice right through the younger girl.

"Remember," Wendy says, according to a probable cause affidavit filed by the Palm Beach police. "When he asks how old you are, say eighteen."

The light changes, and Wendy turns back around but keeps looking at Mary in the rearview mirror.

"Got it?"

Mary nods.

"I mean it," says Wendy.

Who would believe her? Anyone can see that Mary is younger than that.

"*Okay,*" she says. "I got it. Eighteen."

Mary takes out her flip phone and sends Joe a text: "Your cousin is a BAMF."

A badass motherfucker.

There's no reply.

"Or maybe she's just a bitch," Mary texts.

Still no reply.

*Joe must still be in church,* Mary thinks.

They pass El Bravo Way and turn onto El Brillo Way.

Wendy's driving slowly now, right at the speed limit. Once more, she says: "When the man asks your age, say eighteen."

Mary nods again and smiles, slightly. She wants Wendy to see her smiling. To know that she's got it all under control. But Wendy's eyes are on the front gate now. It opens, she parks, and they walk past a guard.

"We're here to see Jeff," says Wendy.

The guard nods—*of course you are*—and leads them to the side door.

They're in the kitchen now. Mary, Wendy, some middle-aged man. The man has a long face, bushy eyebrows, and thick silver hair—and he's *fit*. As fit as the jocks that Mary goes to school with. Not attractive, exactly. He's way too old for that. But confident, in a way that makes an impression.

Standing behind the man there's a woman. She's blond, very pretty, much taller than Wendy.

*What a strange scene*, Mary thinks. She can't shake the feeling that the man is *studying* her. Then he nods, and he and Wendy walk out of the kitchen. A little while later, they're back.

"Sarah," the man says to the tall woman. "You can take Mary upstairs."

Sarah takes Mary up a wide winding staircase carpeted in pink. Together they walk down a hall that's got photographs on the wall—naked women. Long curtains cover windows and don't let in much light. In the air, there's a strong lavender fragrance.

Then they come to a room containing a green-and-pink sofa. There's a large bathroom off to one side and doors on either side of the sofa. There's a wooden armoire with sex toys on it. There's a massage table, too, and a mural of a naked woman.

"Wait here," says Sarah. "Jeff will be up in a moment."

Mary's too freaked out to do anything else. Fidgeting with her belt loops, she sits on the sofa, jumps up again.

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a, jumps up again.

Then she sees *the picture.*

All the girls in the photos are young. But the girl in this one's just a baby.

Much younger than Mary herself.

The girl's smiling, but the smile's mixed with something else—some sort of *anxiety* that's out of place on such a small face. And what she's doing is shocking: pulling her underwear off to the side. Flashing one of her tiny apple-round butt cheeks toward the camera.

Mary gasps. She turns around. And there's Epstein standing in front of her, wearing nothing but a towel.

# CHAPTER 6

## *Michael Reiter: March 2005*

Chief Reiter looks more like a bank president than a cop. He's well built, with an air of formality and discretion. But he's got twenty-four years on the job. Decades earlier, he was a campus police officer in Pittsburgh. Then he rose, steadily, through the ranks in Palm Beach, moving up from patrol officer to detective, working vice, narcotics, and organized crime, then becoming a sergeant, captain, major, and assistant chief—a job he held for three years—before becoming chief of police. Reiter is what you'd call seasoned, although chief of police in Palm Beach is a job that calls upon his political skills as much as his street smarts.

Then again, from time to time, things do happen.

Once in a blue moon there are murders—though these are so rare that they tend to be remembered for decades.

Sometimes there are hurricanes to contend with, and, when the

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# CHAPTER 6

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sea calms, human cargo washes up on the shore. Sometimes traffickers aim the bows of their boats at the glow of the Breakers resort, order their passengers to go overboard, then tell them to swim.

Most of the passengers are Haitian—men, women, and children who stake all they have on a chance at a life in America. From time to time, Palm Beach cops have to retrieve their bodies from the surf.

Things get busier during the wintertime, or, as the locals call it, the season. It's when the very rich come to town, throw parties and balls, shop, and tangle traffic at the intersections around Worth Avenue. The population booms, and the men and women who work under Chief Reiter deal with fender benders, shoplifters, and snotty skateboarding teenagers. There are DUIs. Domestic disturbances. Choking victims and heart attacks. It's routine stuff, but there's always lots of it. Enough to keep the men and women who work for Reiter busy.

Chief Reiter's proud of the team he has built. And, the team knows, they're lucky to have him. Reiter's extremely well qualified for the job. If anything, he's overqualified, with a certificate from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard and antiterrorist training at Quantico, courtesy of the FBI. It's not brought up often at cocktail parties in Palm Beach, but several of the 9/11 hijackers lived in Palm Beach County. They took flight lessons at local airstrips. A few, including the mastermind, Mohamed Atta, had been regulars at 251 Sunrise, a chic nightclub in Palm Beach. There they had regaled any woman who would listen with made-up stories about their adventures as pilots.

But 251 Sunrise is shuttered now. The joint was shut down in 2004, after an avalanche of noise complaints. For the moment, Palm Beach is as quiet and calm as any place Reiter has dreamed about.

For the moment.

# CHAPTER 7

## *Mary: March 2005*

If there's no traffic, Mary's hometown is less than thirty minutes away from the island of Palm Beach. But in economic terms it's a world away. Her high school is run by the county. Most of Mary's classmates are black. Thirty percent are Hispanic, as she is. The rest are white. The school has a C rating, and lots of students receive free or discounted lunches. Mary is one of those students. But inch by inch, she's working her way out of the crab barrel. A good kid, her teachers think. A kid with a future in front of her.

Weeks have gone by since her meeting with Epstein. She hasn't told anyone about the visit. Still, other kids at the high school have noticed a change.

"Yo, Mary," a friend says. "What's up with you anyway?"

This is a kid who veers from nice to mean, depending on who else is around.

Still, a friend.

"Nothing," says Mary.

"You got your period?

"Shut the fuck up," M

There have been ru
Rumors started by a girl

"Whore," her rival sh

"You're the whore," M

Mary rushes the girl, w
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She shakes her head
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# CHAPTER 7

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"Nothing," says Mary.

"You got your period?"

"Shut the fuck up," Mary whispers.

There have been rumors going around, she knows that. Rumors started by a girl who has eyes for Joe.

"Whore," her rival shouts in the hallway one day.

"You're the whore," Mary shouts back.

Mary rushes the girl, who shoves back, grabbing at Mary's hair, twisting and tugging. Someone yells, "Catfight!" By the time the bell rings for next period, Mary's sitting in the principal's office.

She shakes her head in reply to the questions, stays silent, feeling humiliated.

Then, in her wallet, they find the three hundred dollars.

Mary's too young and too small to be stripping. Besides, the bills are all twenties, not singles or fives. When they call Mary's parents, her teachers suggest a more obvious explanation: Does Mary do drugs or deal them?

Mary's father knows better than that. "No," he insists. A psychologist is called in. And then, Mary does start talking.

Once she does, she can't stop.

It's a wild story. Highly disturbing. A mansion in Palm Beach. A powerful man. This is all far from the principal's wheelhouse. It's *definitely* a matter for the police. In the meantime, the school's recommending a transfer, purely temporarily, to a facility for troubled kids—ones with "issues."

Mary's a good girl, it's true. But further confrontations at the high school will not be tolerated.

# CHAPTER 8

## *Michele Pagan: March 2005*

On March 15, Palm Beach police officer Michele Pagan takes the first call from Mary's stepmother.

"Ma'am," she says, "I'm going to have to ask you to come down to the station."

"I don't want to say anything more until I speak with my husband."

"Ma'am, I appreciate that. But I'd urge you to come in. Let us find out what happened. Please."

"I'll get back to you."

"Please, ma'am. I'm here for the rest of the day. We're on South County Road."

At the station, Mary's father does most of the talking.

"There was an incident," he says. "At school. A fight between Mary and another girl. But please understand, our Mary's not like that."

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# CHAPTER 8

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Officer Pagan's starting to feel as though she's swimming in uncharted waters. She's young, and the cases she's worked before this have been minor. Robberies, that sort of thing. Pagan's not used to the Gold Coast. She was educated in New York City, and, to her, the less affluent towns further in from the Coast might as well be somewhere in Georgia. Then again, she knows enough to know that in the back of the station, detectives are already whispering.

*What's a guy with that kind of money need with some girl from out west? The women around here could make a man cry.*

*Extortion?*

*The kid's fourteen. What would she know from extortion?*

*Have you seen the shows these kids watch? They know about things we've never dreamed about.*

*No,* Pagan thinks. This is her case.

She's the one who's going to work it.

# CHAPTER 9

## *Mary: March 2005*

Mary's father and stepmother believe their girl. Officer Pagan believes Mary's parents. Ergo, Mary must be telling the truth. The girl's got a sweet, high, halting voice. Pagan interviews her twice, and both times, she speaks with her chin buried deep in her chest.

"Tell me, honey," says Pagan. "What happened?"

In her notepad, Michele Pagan writes: *While speaking to me, Mary became upset and started to cry.*

"This white-haired guy came into the room," Mary says. "Wearing only a towel around his waist. He took off the towel. And then he was all naked, and he lay down on a massage table.

"He was a really built guy. But his wee-wee was very tiny."

Mary tells Pagan that Epstein spoke only to give her instructions, which he did in a stern voice. She tells Pagan that she was alone and didn't know what to do.

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*She removed her pants, leaving her thong panties on,* Pagan writes in her incident report.

*She straddled his back, whereby her exposed buttocks were touching Epstein's exposed buttocks.*

*Epstein then turned to his side and started to rub his penis in an up-and-down motion. Epstein pulled out a purple vibrator and began to massage Mary's vaginal area.*

Mary's sure that Epstein ejaculated. "He used a towel to wipe himself down as he got off the table," she says.

That week, Pagan's assigned to the case, along with six detectives. Five men, two women. "A predator case," one of them will say. "This is different from someone who is stealing. This predator is a smart person, and that's his *desire*. He can't stop."

Within days, another victim comes into the station. She's got a similar story.

It's a tricky case, according to a source closely involved with the investigation, because the girls involved are far too young to use as bait in an attempt to catch Epstein committing another crime—even if they were willing to play along. Still, there are other strings that Chief Reiter's team can start pulling.

Two weeks later, on March 31, Officer Pagan has Mary make a controlled call to Wendy Dobbs.

The first attempt goes straight to voice mail.

The next time Mary calls, Wendy picks up.

On the recordings made by Officer Pagan, Mary's voice is tiny and tentative, while Wendy sounds mature, gruff, fully grown, like the femme fatale in some old black-and-white movie.

"Hey, what's up?" she says impatiently.

"Nothing," says Mary.

"I talked to Jeffrey, and I'm going to his house tomorrow morning," says Wendy. "I'm going to set something up for you."

"Cool. Like, what do you think?"

"I don't know. I'm going to talk to him tomorrow morning when I go to his house about it."

"Um, how much would I get paid?"

"Talk to him. I'll talk to him tomorrow, and then I'll bring you in the next day. You can talk to him about it."

*So far, so good,* thinks Officer Pagan. But she needs more. She looks at Mary expectantly, but not too expectantly, she hopes. She can imagine how hard it must be for the girl. Or maybe she can't imagine it at all. But either way, Mary seems to have gotten the message. Straightening up in her chair, she begins to press Wendy.

"I don't know," Wendy says in response. "I don't know. You're going to have to talk to him about it. I mean, I don't really work for him like *that.* I just bring girls to him and they work for him. . . . You can ask him, like, 'What can I do to make more money?' "

Mary keeps pressing.

"The more you do, the more you get paid," Wendy says finally.

"Want me to bring my sister for you? So that we can get paid more or something?"

"Well, yeah. That's what I'm saying. I'm working tomorrow, and me and him are going to put a schedule together for you and your sister. So I'll call you tomorrow when I leave Jeffrey with a schedule."

"Okay, well, I don't have a phone. So if you guys call me, I'd have to know what time so I could get the phone."

"Okay. I'll leave you a message. That's fine. I'll leave you a message."

## *Noel St. Pierre: Mar*

Noel St. Pierre*
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# CHAPTER 10

## *Noel St. Pierre: March 2005*

Noel St. Pierre* thinks of the kids he grew up with in Haiti. His old neighborhood was pressed up against the jungle border that Haiti shares with the Dominican Republic, and some of the kids he knew would slip over. Those kids would stay in the DR for a few days, sometimes weeks. Some of them never returned. But the ones who did come back wouldn't say too much about it.

Most of them didn't talk much at all.

By the time he was ten, Noel had learned the truth about those kids. He'd learned that they'd ended up working as *prostitutes.*

This was how Noel St. Pierre had learned about evil. There really were devils out in the world. Flesh-and-blood devils, and they were nothing like the demons he'd heard about in church. Noel had never forgotten the way those kids looked. The way they'd turned into old men and old women. They were like zombies trapped in children's bodies. And now, in America, Noel's been given a chance to help other kids.

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* Noel St. Pierre is a composite character.

That's what the police have told him, at least.

Noel is a sanitation worker. Still strong at fifty, and lucky enough to have found his way to Palm Beach, he gets in to work before anyone else and keeps his white compactor truck clean, almost glistening. His pickup route runs hot and cold with the seasons. But even in the summer, with much less to do, he's on the job early, braced for a six-hour shift that would break a lesser man's back. In the winter, the job gets even harder. The Estate Section gets especially busy. Some of the parties have hundreds of guests. They leave behind mountains of refuse. That garbage gets picked up daily, or twice a day when requested. It's carried by workers who slip, silently, under the porte cocheres. Then it gets whisked twenty miles away to a landfill that the garbagemen call Mount Trashmore.

Noel's stretch of the Estate Section runs from the Everglades Club to the southernmost tip of the island. It encompasses Banyan Road, Jungle Road, El Bravo Way, and El Brillo Way. His performance record is spotless. As far as the Palm Beach PD is concerned, he's the perfect man for the job.

Chief Reiter's authorized a "trash pull"—a legal way to collect discarded evidence. In this case, evidence culled from Jeffrey Epstein's garbage. But when the police call him, Noel St. Pierre simply assumes that another refugee boat has run aground on

the beach. A sad thing
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the beach. A sad thing, but something that does happen from time to time. His homeland, Haiti, is desperately poor. Run by despots who line their pockets while everyday people suffer.

Many of the refugees are illiterate.

Most of them speak only Creole.

*"Eske ou ka ede nou, souple,"* they ask.

"Can you help us, please?"

The cops always need a translator, and Noel's been asked to help out before. But this time the police officer's voice is raspy, impatient.

"This time is different," the officer says. "Something very special. You don't have to accept. But if you do, you'll have to keep things to yourself, completely."

When he hears what the story is, Noel accepts.

"I'll do it," he says immediately.

The address he's been given is 358 El Brillo Way. On his first morning, St. Pierre moves swiftly, sneaking a glance through the kitchen window at the four silhouettes standing inside. Three women, one of them quite short, with pigtails.

The fourth silhouette is that of a tall man.

The police have given him clear instructions. The work is unsavory, but so is the work Noel does every day. What the detectives want from him now are slips of paper with phone numbers, along with toothbrushes, condoms, discarded underwear. Anything that could provide DNA. He's been told to use a special truck on the El Brillo run. Whatever he finds he's to put aside in small trash bags he'll deliver directly to the station at the end of every shift.

Jeffrey Epstein's garbage will never arrive at Mount Trashmore.

As he drives to the police station, St. Pierre thinks about Epstein and what he's been told. It's a wonder to him that American kids would do what the police say these kids have done. American kids are rich, after all. *Some of them just don't know it*, he guesses.

Americans always want more than they have.

Then again, children do stupid things. They don't know any better. And St. Pierre's trips to the house make one thing clear. These girls are young. *Really* young.

"I hope you can stop this man," St. Pierre tells the cop.

The detective shoots him a sharp look, and St. Pierre nods.

"Please," he says, more softly this time.

"Can we count on seeing you here tomorrow?"

The detective looks antsy, impatient again. In his hand he's holding a scrap of paper that Noel St. Pierre has pulled from Epstein's trash. Wendy Dobbs's name is on it. Mary's name is on it as well.

The detective can't wait to get it to Chief Reiter's office.

"As long as it takes, sir," St. Pierre tells him. "Tomorrow, the next day. Whenever you need me."

## *Michael Reiter: Sep*

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# CHAPTER 11

## *Michael Reiter: September 2005*

There's a sense in which the Palm Beach PD functions as a foundation. From time to time, one of the town's wealthy residents will walk in with a check followed by an inquiry. How much more would the police force need to make this remarkably safe community feel even safer?

A tax write-off? Sure. But why not? Coming from most, it's a genuine gesture. One of appreciation for all they have and for all the department's efforts to guard it. Donations are accepted graciously, gratefully. In 2004, the department had taken one from Jeffrey Epstein—the second donation he'd made to the Palm Beach PD—for ninety thousand dollars. Generous, even by the generous standards of Palm Beach. The donation, which Epstein delivered personally, was earmarked for a firearms training simulator. But that day Michael Reiter had thought something seemed *off* about Epstein.

Something an old cop would notice.

Reiter's officers had told him about complaints they'd gotten a few months earlier—young women hanging around at the end of the block or coming and going at all hours from Epstein's house. "There was some follow-up to that," Reiter said in a deposition for *B.B. vs. Epstein*, a civil suit, brought by a victim, that Jeffrey eventually settled. "I think we may have encountered one or two of them. [We] may have done a little bit of surveillance or talked to neighbors as to whether or not they had seen that. I think we were of the general understanding that, yes, there were very attractive young women coming and going from Mr. Epstein's residence.

"We did some level of further inquiry, and we were of the belief that they were all adults. And [we] were also of the belief that there was a possibility that there could be prostitution. But I mean that's just not something that we heavily pursued—prostitution in private residences; it's common everywhere in America. We didn't believe that they were underage at that point, and so we had no further interest in it."

Reiter had recalled those complaints on the day Epstein had shown up with his $90,000 donation. And when Reiter had walked Epstein downstairs, he couldn't help but notice the tall, beautiful woman whom Epstein had brought with him to the station.

It struck him as strange that she was standing so stiffly, eyes cast downward, as though she were afraid to speak. Not a kid. But not a woman, either. Epstein did not introduce or even acknowledge her. To Reiter, this, too, seemed odd.

Indeed, the statuesque woman was Nadia Marcinkova, a

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man was Nadia Marcinkova, a

nineteen-year-old beauty who lived at Epstein's home and was described, by another girl, in a recorded interview with Detective Recarey, as one of Epstein's "like, slaves."

In September, several months into the investigation, Epstein calls Reiter directly and asks: Has Palm Beach bought the firearms simulator yet?

Cautiously, Reiter tells him that they're still doing research.

If the department needs more funds, Epstein says, he'll be happy to provide them.

Reiter thanks him graciously and hangs up. But he's certain now that Epstein knows about the investigation. Thinking about Epstein's crimes in Palm Beach makes him shudder. And, Reiter knows, if the charges are true, things are going to get ugly and public.

Cops like Reiter are family men, fathers. Some see so much that they're no longer surprised by the ways of the world. Still, it helps to hold on to a natural capacity for outrage. Thefts are easy to understand: you see something you need, so you take it. Even murders make a kind of sense once you understand the motivation. There's great satisfaction in catching a murderer. But what Epstein's been up to is hard to explain.

*Who is this guy?*

Reiter's detectives will have to get into Epstein's head. To nail him, they'll have to know him. And to do that, they'll have to get to know the people around him. The police already know about Wendy. That's one procurer, but out of how many?

What kind of person would bring children to a child molester?

And—Reiter can't shake the idea—other victims had to be out there. That lined up with what Epstein's neighbor reported: there were *many* girls. He needed to find them as quickly as possible. It was a race against time.

As long as Epstein was free in Palm Beach, more girls were sure to arrive at the side of the house on El Brillo Way.

## *Alison: September 11*

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# CHAPTER 12

## *Alison: September 11, 2005*

It might start with the *Palm Beach Daily News*, which usually covers charity balls, equestrian events, and gallery openings. Reporters there would kill to sink their teeth into something so juicy. On top of that, Chief Reiter knows, Palm Beach is full of freelance paparazzi and seasoned semiretired journalists.

They'd kill for the story, too. For them, it'd be a real-life *Body Heat*.

Over at WPTV, the local NBC affiliate, the phone rings one day.

It's a tip from a kid, sounding nervous. Something about girls from a local high school.

There's a prostitution ring out in Palm Beach, says the boy.

The tip gets brought up in a midmorning meeting at which the producers divvy up ideas among the various reporters and newscasts.

"Where, exactly?" a producer asks.

"He didn't say, exactly," an intern replies. "He said that a very rich man was involved."

"Who?"

"Didn't say."

"Did he leave a call-back number?"

"No. The kid sounded really young. Fourteen, fifteen years old."

The producer thinks for a moment, makes a few scratches in his dog-eared notepad.

"Okay," he says. "I'm not sure what we can do with that for the moment."

At some point, some enterprising journalist will put enough pieces together to get a sense of the picture. Sooner or later, someone will talk. Maybe a parent. Maybe a cop's girlfriend gets giddy at lunch. The girlfriend's girlfriend mentions it to her husband, who says something to a golfing buddy in turn. Maybe the golfing buddy knows a reporter.

Or maybe some lawyer goes *off the rez*, blitzed off those martinis they serve at the Palm Beach Grill.

Sooner or later, there's always talk. At that point, Chief Reiter's job will get much, much harder—with Epstein on one side, the press on the other, and the chief taking flak from all sides. But right now, two months into Reiter's investigation, the press is still speaking in whispers.

Right now, Reiter wants to keep it that way.

And, in the meantime, new pieces of the puzzle keep falling into place.

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On September 11, a young woman named Alison gets pulled over by the police.* She's carrying a small amount of marijuana. The patrol officer handcuffs her and puts her in the back of his vehicle. But Alison's been in the back of a police car before, and she's cocky and canny enough to pivot the conversation away from the dime bag she's been busted with. She tells the officer a remarkable story about an older man engaging in sexual activities with high school girls. Alison knows about it firsthand, she says. She's been going to the house on El Brillo Way since she was sixteen.

At first the cop's skeptical. He hasn't heard about the investigation into Jeffrey Epstein's affairs. And, after all, Alison is a burnout. But back at the station, he finds out that Alison has not been bullshitting him.

The investigation is real.

Alison's name and cell phone number match up with messages that have been pulled from Epstein's trash. Instead of copping to a misdemeanor, she becomes another Jane Doe in the case that Chief Reiter's colleague, Detective Joe Recarey, is building against Jeffrey Epstein.

The story Alison ends up telling is extremely disturbing.

Like Mary, she says, she was recruited in high school. She tells cops that Epstein would call her his "number one girl"—although, she suspects, there were many others.

Recarey takes her statement. In the excerpts that follow (transcribed from a tape recording made by the Palm Beach police), *D* stands for "Detective Recarey," and *V* stands for "victim."

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* Alison's name, some identifying details, and dialogue have been changed.

D: Well, ah, start from, like, how you met him, and then I'll—I'll take you through.

V: Okay. Um, we [Alison and a female friend] worked at Hollister together in the Wellington Green mall, and I was mentioning to her how I wanted extra money to go to Maine...I wanted to go camping for the summer, and I couldn't afford a plane ticket. And—she goes, "Oh, well, you can get a plane ticket in two hours." I said, "What are you talking about?" Like, what are you—that didn't make any sense to me, a plane ticket in two hours; what are you talking about? And she goes, "Oh, we can go give this guy a massage, and, um, he'll pay two hundred dollars for, like, forty-five minutes or an hour." And that's all she told me—no details, no nothing.

...

She said that he wanted cute girls, so I looked cute, did my best. I didn't—I didn't think that it was what it was. I wasn't naive enough to think that he was gonna pay me two hundred dollars just for nothing—I, I don't know, like, I don't know what was going through my head. I absolutely don't know. And I—the back of my mind was thinking, oh, well, it could be legitimate, but I was also thinking, you know, at the same time, is she fucking crazy? Like, this guy's not gonna pay you money for not doing anything, not letting him cop a feel or nothing. You know? So I didn't know what to think, I was like, "Oh...if he does something that I have a problem with, then I'll leave."

...

D: Who were you introduced to?

V: One of his girlfriends. One of his, like, slaves that he has live with him. And when I say "slaves," like, one of the girls that

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D: When you're sayin
breasts?

V: Yeah. And then he a
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of his, like, slaves that he has live
'slaves," like, one of the girls that

he bought to, like, have sex with him. Um, I was introduced to one of them probably, like... Sarah. I was introduced to Sarah. Um, that's his assistant, I think. I think they have sex, but I don't know. Um, I was introduced to his assistant Sarah, and she's the one who told me that he would be ready in a second. And from there I met various other girls. I don't really—I didn't pay attention to who they were, though.... So... we were waiting on the couch in the bathroom, and, um, Jeffrey comes up, and he's like, "Hey, I'm—I'm Jeffrey." He just introduced himself, and he hands—I remember this 'cause I was pissed off that she got paid to bring me. Like, I was pissed off. He hands her a wad of hundred-dollar bills and says, "Thank you," and she says, "I'll wait for you downstairs," and I was like, "All right, I'll see you in a little while." And that's how I was brought to Jeffrey.

...

Um. Hold on—I'm remembering. I'm, like, picturing in my head. I wore a skirt. I remember specifically what I wore: I wore a skirt and just a regular T-shirt. And I was massaging his legs, and he asked me to take off my skirt. And I said—I think I said no at first. And he's like, "Come on, you're not showing"—he talked me into it, basically. He's like, "Oh, you're not showing anything," or [he] did something; I don't even know. So I ended up taking off my skirt, and then he goes—well, I think he just started touching, you know, the top of me. So—and then he asked me.

D: When you're saying "the top of you," you mean your breasts?

V: Yeah. And then he asked me to take off my shirt. So I took off my shirt, but I kept my underwear on. And I wouldn't take my underwear off: I told him no. And he still paid me the same amount. And that was that. I went home.

. . .

D: So, in other words, he—
V: Finished with himself and that was it. Yeah, he ejaculated. Specifically.
D: That was the first time you went there?
V: Mm-hmm.
D: And—I know, take a deep breath, I know, I can see it in your eyes already. From then on, you went there multiple times?
V: I had problems with it. [With] what happened the first time. But three hundred dollars for forty minutes—that was a lot for a sixteen-year-old girl making six bucks an hour.
D: So you're saying you're sure you were sixteen now?
V: Um, I don't want to say I'm sure of my age. I was under seventeen, one hundred percent.

. . .

D: Okay. Um, when you—the first time you went, when he masturbated, did you see?
V: [giggles]
D: His member?
V: Oh, I thought you were going to ask me if I saw, like, his come.
D: No.
V: I saw all of the above.
D: You saw him naked, fully naked? Fully naked?
V: Yeah, a hundred percent naked. He had a towel on for some of it, but that doesn't mean anything. Like, he was naked.
D: He took off the towel?
V: I saw everything, yeah.

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I mean, I'm sorry, he is circumcised, my bad. He's circumcised, a hundred and ten percent sure. A matter of fact, he has some sort of birth defect. On his thing. I don't know what it is [giggles]; I've never really looked at it, because I've never done anything where I had to touch it. I've never touched it—out of the whole time I worked for him, I never touched his penis. Like, he—I'm pretty sure he rubbed it against me, but I've never ever been, like, "Okay, I'm letting you do this" or "I'm gonna do this to you." Um, it's really weirdly shaped. I don't know—do you want me to, like, tell you this?

. . .

I'm just really embarrassed. Um, it's like a teardrop, like a drop of water. It's really fat at the bottom and skinny at the top, where it's attached. And he never gets fully hard, ever. Like, I just could tell by looking at it—like, by looking you can obviously tell if you're hard or not, and I could tell that he wasn't.

. . .

D: The next time you went, or as you continued to go, did it escalate more?

V. Mm-hmm. I actually—I don't remember how long it took for me to start working for him regularly, from the first time I went there. But I started working every day. Every single day he was in the country I would be there...And, um, I told him that I wouldn't let him put anything inside of me; that was my rule. Nothing inside of me—no fingers, no, no nothing, absolutely nothing inside of me. He increased my pay to three or four hundred dollars as long as he could touch me. Um, I still never—I, I swear I never touched him, the whole entire time I never, ever touched him. Um, but he, he—

D: How many times would you say you went?

V: Hundreds. Hundreds. I was—he used to tell me I was his favorite. He bought me a car. He bought me—

D: This Jeep that you're driving?

V: No. I had a brand-new Dodge Neon. I got a plane—I got a plane ticket to New York; I got spending money whenever I wanted. Like, I was in there deep. I was—he asked my parents to emancipate me so I could live with him. Or he didn't ask my parents, he asked me to ask my parents, I'm sorry. He actually wanted me to come live with him.

D: As, like, a girlfriend?

V: Sex slave, whatever you want to call it. Yeah. Um, but it escalated—he, he just increased my pay, as long as he could touch me. I wouldn't let him put anything inside of me. And then one day he just did, one day he just put his hand, like, his fingers—and, um...

D: How long, would you say, from the very first time you went?

V: Months. Honestly, I never kept track, like, of, of what happened when. I just can tell you in which order things progressed.

...

It was—it was, like, towards the middle and end of my school year. But I remember that for the last, like, six or eight weeks of high school, I didn't have a car 'cause I gave it back to him. Because he—he asked me to have sex with him and, like, like suck him and stuff [giggles], and I was just like, no. Definitely not. I was like, "I'll let you touch me, but I'm not gonna do that."

...

Yeah, the car was a Dodge Neon 2005. He got it for me before the New Year, because I remember I got it—it was an edition

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V: Sure.

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D: Okay. The first time

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that was a year before they were supposed to come out. So if I got it, I obviously didn't get a 2006, 'cause that's this year. I got a 2005 Neon in 2004. Seven miles on it when I got it. The car was awesome [giggles].

. . .

I gave it back before I graduated. It got too—it got too sticky for me. He wanted more than I was willing to give. I didn't wanna—I didn't want to, um, suck his dick. I didn't want to have sex with him. I never did that, and I wanted to be able to walk away from this saying that I—saying that I never did that. And I'm glad that I did.

. . .

But I lied to him when I gave it back. I didn't want to burn my bridges, because he was a spectacular connection to have. Spectacular. Even if I didn't—even when I didn't work for him. Until this day, he is so aw—he is so—I haven't talked to him in, like, a couple months, but if I called him today he would give me as much money as I asked him for. He doesn't know that I hate him the way I do. I kept that connection. I figured he used me, I'd be able to use him. Um, I hate to say that, but I figured if I wanted to use him I could.

D: Okay. Let me bring you back a little bit.
V: Sure.
D: When did things start to escalate as far as things happening when the massages were given?
V: They escalated whenever he wanted. I don't clearly understand the question.
D: Okay. The first time you went, you were naked—
V: Are you asking for a date?
D: Oh, no, no, no—

V: . . . and the little steps that things progressed?

D: Right.

V: Well, I went and I wouldn't take off my panties at first. And then he got me to get naked. Then he got me to let him rub me. Then he got me to let him stick his fingers in me. Then he got me to let him go down on me. Then, um—that was pretty much the gist of it, except this one time, where he bent me over the table and put himself in me. Without my permission. And I flipped out. I'm sorry, I didn't ask you, but I don't count that as me having sex with him. . . . 'Cause I just told you that I never had sex with him. I never did. Even though, I don't know what you'd consider that. But he then—I go, "What are you doing?" He goes, "Oh, I just wanted [redacted] to see this."

D: Okay. Let me back you up. When you were completely naked, the same things happened? You went in, you massaged him?

V: Sometimes I didn't even do that. Sometimes he just asked me to take off my clothes and—he'd have to do work, he'd be sitting at his desk or something, and I'd just be naked there, watching television or reading a book, but I'd be naked. Or, um, sometimes he wanted to just watch TV or read, and he'd lay in his bed and ask me to take my clothes off and lay with him. And that's it. Not touch him or anything. . . . Sometimes he'd just invite me over for breakfast, for dinner, or just to use the swimming pool, and I'd get paid for that, too. I'd get paid just to hang out with him. That's it. And if the money wasn't there, I wouldn't have ever been in that house.

D: Okay. When he started to touch you—

V: I have a question. Before I say anything else. Um, is there a possibility that I'm gonna have to go to court or anything? Like, that's a possibility, right?

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D: That, that is a crime.

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V: Well—

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D: You're gonna die? You'

V: All the above! But that

D: Who's he talking to?

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D: Well, here's the thing: When this is all said and done, we're going to sit down, we're going to discuss this. I mean, what he did to you is a crime. I'm not gonna lie to you.

V: Would you consider it rape? Like, would you consider that to be rape, what he did?

D: If he put himself inside you, without permission—

V: I didn't say that, or anything. I was standing up and the table is about, like, my hip length—he just put me down—

D: That, that is a crime. That is a crime.

V: I don't want my family to find out about this. My family doesn't know any of this. My mom thinks I was his secretary, for two years, or however long—a year and a half. My mom thinks I made phone calls for him and that's how I was making my [unintelligible] money. That's it. I don't want her to know anything.

D: Well, you're an adult. You're an adult now.... When we're done with this interview, we'll discuss this further and we'll decide the best course.

V: 'Cause Jeffrey's gonna get me. You guys realize that, right? He's gonna find—he's gonna figure this out. And he's gonna—I'm not safe now. You understand that, right? I'm not safe.

D: He is not this person that he is portraying himself to be—

V: Well—

D: Why do you say you're not safe? Has he said he's hurt people before?

V: Well, I've heard him make threats to people on the telephone, yeah. Of course.

D: You're gonna die? You're gonna break your legs? Or—

V: All the above! But that's not the point.

D: Who's he talking to?

V: I don't know. I don't know, I heard those conversations, I mean, I've been in the room when he was on the phone and [unintelligible] threatened. Like, I witnessed lots of things. I just don't know what, specifically, you all [want to know].

D: Everything.

V: I used to go there every day, like I w—I don't, I don't know how many other girls he was saying, "You're my favorite, and I want you to live with me" to, but I was in about as deep as you can get.

D: He had quite a few girls he would say that to.

...

D: Do you have any formal massage training?

V: [Giggles.] Hell, no.

D: All right, I was just asking.

...

V: He would kiss me and stuff, too. I remember that. And when he kissed me, if he was jerking off he would, like, rub himself on my breasts. And I...I was extremely uncomfortable. I would maneuver myself away from that activity. I'd get up and I'd move somewhere else, or I'd—I don't even remember. I would stop whatever was going on without saying, "Can you get the fuck off me?" I would stop it without saying stuff like that.

D: Okay.

...

V: I wouldn't let him put anything in me until one day he did just out of nowhere. And I said, "Wait a second: my boyfriend, you know, we had this thing, you can't do that. You know, I'm—I'm allowed to work here as long as you don't do that." And he said "okay." Well, a couple months later I guess he

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assumed me and my boyfriend had broken up, and he just did it one day; he just did it without asking or anything. And then I said, "What are you doing?" I said, "You know that's not cool," and he goes, "Oh, I thought we did that last time." And I said, "No, we did not do that last time." And then he goes—uh, and then he just offered me more money. He's like, "Well, why don't I just give you something extra, and we can try this out?" And I was like [sigh], "All right." Very hard guy to say no to. I don't know if any of you guys ever talked to him....

...

Oh, yeah. Well, if you talk to him, I mean, he straight up tries to control the situation. Every—every word that comes out of your mouth, it seems like, he knows what you are going to say. Like, that's his job; that's how he made his money is knowing what people are gonna say and what people are gonna do.

D: What did he tell you he does for a living?

V: Well, there's a couple of things. Things that I found for myself, things I looked up on the Internet. What he specifically told me when I asked him the first time was, "Oh, I'm a brain scientist." And I said, "What the fuck is a brain scientist?" I was like, "That's not a real job—tell me the truth." But anyway... his explanation was, "It's my job to know how people's brains work." And I said, "Whatever the fuck that means. Whatever. You're like some old guy who [unintelligible....]" You know what he promised me? Here's the reason I held on so long is, he promised me that I would get into NYU. That I would get into NYU and he would pay for it. And I waited, and I waited, and I scored great on my SATs, I would get 4.0—like, I did great in school. I filled out my application and he told me that it wasn't good enough. So I filled it out again, and it was like three times. So I'm pretty sure he wasn't checking into it, he was just telling me that he was. But I think that had a lot to do with the reason I stayed there so long, 'cause my dream was right in front of me, you know? And it's so far. . . .

D: Aside from having been with [redacted], was there anybody else that you brought to the house?

V: I brought a few people. . . . Because it got out that I did this. Like, everyone at school knew. You know, everyone talks—

D: It was a circle, and—

V: It was a little circle, yeah. . . . Not that I would want anybody to get involved. . . . I brought girls I didn't like and, frankly, did not give a shit about. Girls that I knew were skanks. That would do anything. Girls that would just, like, suck dick in the bathroom at school. Like, not even people I was friends with. I'd just hear a rumor about a girl and be like, "Hey, I know a way you can make two hundred dollars. How about . . ." I would tell them flat out, like, "This is what you've got to do. Are you cool with this? 'Cause I'm not gonna take you if you're not." So I told them. They all know that I got paid to bring them. It was actually [redacted]. She took off her shirt. She was a little overweight, so he didn't want anything to do [with her]. She was my best friend. But, you know, she was another story. I did care about her. But, um, she lost her house and stuff and really needed money. She had—she was homeless, she had nowhere to go. So she did it out of desperation.

. . .

D: Did he ever hurt you?

V: Sometimes he got vic
D: Violent as in what? A
V: He pulled my hair
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V: Sometimes he got violent, yeah.

D: Violent as in what? As in—

V: He pulled my hair a lot harder than it should have been pulled. Like, he—okay, I can understand having sex, and you're all, like, not—not that we were having sex, but I mean, like, if you're all into it and you pull hair a little bit, like, my ponytails—just like a little bit, whatever. But he would pull it to where it would rip my hair out. It would rip my hair, and then sometimes he would pick me up and, like, throw me whichever way he wanted me, and then he would just like use a toy or, like, his hand or whatever. Never his penis, though, ever. I never had sex with him. But um—I'm little, so he could pick me up. Like, if you pick me up and throw, obviously it's gonna hurt. . . .

. . .

I mean, there's been nights that I walked out of there barely able to walk, um, from him being so rough. But nothing really—nothing specific that he really got violent with. Like, I can't really recall.

. . .

Nothing that I went to the doctor for, no. I mean, I remember getting tore up a few times, but it was nothing that—

. . .

D: This is getting real personal, but were you active before him?

V: What, like, had I had sex? Yeah [laughs].

D: Okay.

V: Um. But honest, I mean, I'm not—I'm not a ho. I've had only three steady boyfriends, and those are the only three that I've ever done anything with. And they were all with me for over a year. So it's not like I just go and hook up at parties.

. . .

Like, I've gotten thousands of dollars' worth of shit. Man, the underwear I'm wearing right now he gave me. Like, I'd—I'd go over there and there'd be a bag of Victoria's Secret underwear, like, waiting for me, like, talking, like, fifteen hundred dollars' worth of stuff. I got a plane ticket from him once. I got a car, I got Christmas bonuses, I got movie tickets. Like, he'd buy me movie tickets—like, he'd say, "Hey, have you gone to the movies lately?" I'd be like, "I dunno, oh—not really," [and] he goes, "Do you want to go?" He'd give me, like, eight movie tickets. I got show tickets; I went and saw, like, David Copperfield. I had, like, VIP tickets or something like that.

. . .

I need to show you, like, what I'm talking about, like, the positioning that we were—it was like, okay, here's the thing: there's the, like, little flower thing, then here's the massage table. I was right here, he was right here, [and] she was here. Um. And I was standing up, and he just pushed me over the table, and he did his thing with me.

D: Okay. Were you facing the table? Were you?

V: I was. I was facedown on the table. Like, facedown, hands, like, on my head, holding—I don't, I don't mean—I wasn't fighting, really. So I don't know if he was holding me down to kinda stop me from fighting or what he was doing. He's just a really weird—he's into really weird stuff. Like, I was just bent over, and my face was on the table. I was facedown on the table. And then he did his thing. So. But anyway, [redacted] was right here, and I'm pretty sure she was naked, and the couch is, like, right behind, but, um, that's how it happened.... He was

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able? Were you?

he table. Like, facedown, hands, —I don't, I don't mean—I wasn't ow if he was holding me down to or what he was doing. He's just a ly weird stuff. Like, I was just bent the table. I was facedown on the ing. So. But anyway, [redacted] was ure she was naked, and the couch m, that's how it happened. . . . He was

only in me for, like, a minute or two. I don't even know if you could say that long. He put it in, did a couple of pumps, or whatever the fuck you wanna call it, and I was like, "What are you doing?" [giggles] I go, "What are you doing?" He's like, "Oh, I just wanted [redacted] to see this." Then that was that.

# CHAPTER 13

## *Wendy Dobbs: October 3, 2005*

Every chance he gets—and he gets lots of chances—Chief Reiter drills the same thing into his investigators' heads: they need to be careful. Patient. Methodical. Strategic. Or Epstein's lawyers will eat them for lunch.

Inch by inch, they move their case toward the goalpost. But in October, Detective Recarey and his coworkers catch a break that moves the ball several yards down the field.

On the first Monday of that month, they pick Wendy up at her house and, down at the police station, she starts to sing—like a *bird*.

The detectives can hardly believe it or get it all down fast enough. Later on, in a probable-cause affidavit, Detective Recarey will write:

> *Approximately two years ago, just after she turned 17 years of age, [Wendy] was approached by a friend named Molly at*

*the Canopy Beach*
*asked if she wanted*
*have to provide a m*
*thought about the off*
*Molly (Unknown*
*name) picked [Dobb*
*house. Upon her arr*
*Epstein in the kitch*
*duced to a white fem*
*upstairs to the main*
*bedroom.*

*Sarah arranged t*
*with a sheet. She bro*
*next to the massage*
*informed [Dobbs] Jef*
*the bedroom wearing*
*He removed the*
*table. He laid on the*
*massage oil for [Dobb*

"He tried to touch m

*I asked how he tried t*
*grabbed her buttocks*

"I'll massage you," D
to be touched."

*[Dobbs] stated she per*
*clusion of the massage*

# CHAPTER 13

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ng into his investigators' heads:
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and his coworkers catch a break
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month, they pick Wendy up at her
ition, she starts to sing—like a bird.
believe it or get it all down fast
-cause affidavit, Detective Recarey

*o, just after she turned 17 years*
*ched by a friend named Molly at*

*the Canopy Beach Resort in Riviera Beach. [Dobbs] was asked if she wanted to make money. She was told she would have to provide a massage and should make $200. [Dobbs] thought about the offer and agreed to meet with Jeffrey.*

*Molly (Unknown last name) and Tony (Unknown last name) picked [Dobbs] up and she was taken to Epstein's house. Upon her arrival to the house she was introduced to Epstein in the kitchen of the house. She was also introduced to a white female known to her as Sarah. She was led upstairs to the main bedroom known to her as Jeff Epstein's bedroom.*

*Sarah arranged the massage table and covered the table with a sheet. She brought out the massage oils and laid them next to the massage bed. Sarah then left the room and informed [Dobbs] Jeff would be in, in a minute. Jeff entered the bedroom wearing only a towel.*

*He removed the towel and laid nude on the massage table. He laid on the table onto his stomach and picked a massage oil for [Dobbs] to rub on him.*

"He tried to touch me, and I stopped him," says Dobbs.

*I asked how he tried to touch her. [Dobbs] stated that Epstein grabbed her buttocks and she felt uncomfortable.*

"I'll massage you," Dobbs had told Epstein. "But I don't want to be touched."

*[Dobbs] stated she performed the massage naked. At the conclusion of the massage, Epstein paid [Dobbs] $200.*

> *After the massage Epstein stated to [Dobbs] that he understood she was not comfortable, but he would pay her if she brought over some girls. He told her the younger the better. [Dobbs] stated she once tried to bring a 23-year-old female and Epstein stated that the female was too old. [Dobbs] stated that in total she only remembers six girls that she brought to see Epstein. Each time she was paid $200. [Dobbs] said at the time she brought these girls to Epstein's house they were all 14 through 16 [years] of age.*

Wendy Dobbs keeps talking. What she says about Mary's visit lines up neatly with what Mary's already told the police. Wendy's own experience with Epstein syncs up, too. But Wendy's not a victim, as Mary is. After all, she's been playing on Epstein's team. Team *predator.*

A police sergeant enters the room. What he wants to know is, does Wendy realize that she's implicated herself in Epstein's crimes?

Beads of sweat form on Wendy's forehead, and now the police know they've really got her. She gives them phone numbers to go with the young girls she's named. She provides addresses. But no, Wendy doesn't quite get it. On the way home, in a police car, she brags in the backseat:

"I'm like a Heidi Fleiss," she tells the escorting officers.

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### *Wendy Dobbs, inter*
### *Sergeant Frick, Oct*
### *video (excerpts)*

RECAREY: Okay. Your
of all, I know you're
Okay? I want to tha
door's closed, you're
you know, it's only c

DOBBS: That's fine.

RECAREY: I understan
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DOBBS: And I don't nee

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# CHAPTER 14

## *Wendy Dobbs, interview with Detective Recarey and Sergeant Frick, October 3, 2005, transcribed from video (excerpts)*

RECAREY: Okay. Your Pepsi's coming, my Pepsi's coming. First of all, I know you're freaking out. Don't freak out, just relax. Okay? I want to thank you for coming. All right? Though the door's closed, you're free to go at any time. You're not here—you know, it's only closed for our privacy.

DOBBS: That's fine.

RECAREY: I understand that you may have information on a case that we're looking into, okay? That's the reason why I brought you here today. All right? And again, you're here voluntarily. You agreed to come back with us and talk to us. But I do want to talk you about Jeff Epstein, and the whole... thing.

DOBBS: And I don't need a lawyer, right?

RECAREY: It's up to you. If you wanted one, you can have one. I can't tell you yes or no on that. That's totally [up] to you, I'm only—

DOBBS: I'm not gonna get in trouble for anything I say, right?

RECAREY: Right now, you're just a witness. I'm talking to you as a witness. . . . That's totally up to you. You wanna talk to me?

DOBBS: I have no problem telling you everything I know. I'm a very cooperative person.

RECAREY: Okay. How did you first meet, um—

DOBBS: I first met Jeffrey—I was at a beach resort on Singer Island, and I was approached by this girl I went to school with. Her name was [redacted]. And she was asking me, you know, "Oh, you need extra money, I know this guy. . . ." I thought about it and I finally gave her a call, and her and her friend [redacted] met up with me. I actually picked them up and we drove down to Jeffrey's house. She introduced me, whatever.

RECAREY: Okay. Now, what [do] you mean by making money, how do you make money with Jeffrey?

DOBBS: Um, there's two ways. There's two ways you can make money. He'll, all right—

RECAREY: That's all right. Talk to me. Talk to me like, like nothin'.

DOBBS: How do I say—this is going to sound really sleazy, but—

RECAREY: No. Go ahead. Talk to me.

DOBBS: Every girl that meets Jeffrey starts off with giving him a massage. The more you do with him, the more you make. Basically, if you take off your clothes, you're gonna make more. If you let him do things to you, you're gonna make more.

RECAREY: Like "do things" you mean, touch you?

DOBBS: Yeah. Touch yo
RECAREY: Okay. Does
DOBBS: He uses his hand
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RECAREY: Just to bring
DOBBS: Yeah. Just to brin
RECAREY: Okay. And t
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DOBBS: She knew every
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you mean, touch you?

DOBBS: Yeah. Touch you in inappropriate places.

RECAREY: Okay. Does he use his hand? Does he—

DOBBS: He uses his hands and, I really wouldn't call it a vibrator—I guess it's like a massager? But um—I was one of the girls that refused to do that. I did it basically my—I did it naked, but I wouldn't let him touch me or anything like that. So after that he's like, "You know what?" He's like, "Listen, I'll pay you $200 for every girl that you bring to me." He's like, "I don't want you to massage me anymore, you know, just bring girls to me. . . ." So that's the other way you can make money. For every girl that you bring to the table—so, for every girl that I brought to Jeffrey—I would make $200. Flat. Just right there.

RECAREY: Just to bring a girl.

DOBBS: Yeah. Just to bring a girl.

RECAREY: Okay. And the girl that was going knew that she would have to massage him.

DOBBS: She knew everything. She knew everything. That was one of Jeffrey's rules. He had a problem with girls coming to the house that didn't know what they were getting into. He would tell me, you know, "Make sure these girls know what I expect, make sure they know what they want, because when I get in that room I don't want them to—you know—they need to know." And, as far as [redacted]'s case, she knew everything she was getting herself into. It was all volunteer.

RECAREY: Okay. What did you tell her that she was gonna do?

DOBBS: I told her the same thing. I told her, you know, this guy Jeffrey—she came to me saying she needed money, da da da. I basically told her about it. She was like, um, you know, "What do you have to do?" I told her. I was like, "The more you do, the more you make. That's it. In order to make money, you're gonna have to go up there. You're gonna take your clothes off. But the more you do, is the more you make." She walked out of there with $300. So she obviously and evidently let him do a little more. Plus, on our way home, she kinda told me what she did.

RECAREY: Which was? Give the massage....

DOBBS: She gave the massage, and she basically let him, like, touch her, down there. Basically.

RECAREY: Did he touch her with his hands?

DOBBS: All with his hands. And then he brought out the massager. From what she told me.

...

RECAREY: How old were you when you were approached to see Jeffrey?

DOBBS: Um, I think I was seventeen?

RECAREY: Seventeen.

DOBBS: Sixteen or seventeen.

RECAREY: Okay. When was the last time you talked to him?

DOBBS: It's been a while. I can honestly say it's probably been about close to a year. About a year. I actually stopped working for him.

RECAREY: Who was the last girl you brought over?

DOBBS: The last girl I brought over was [redacted]....

RECAREY: Okay. You got paid two hundred bucks for taking her over?

DOBBS: Yes.

RECAREY: Okay. [Redacted] knew...

DOBBS: She knew everything.

RECAREY: That she'd have to massage him, and the more she did—

DOBBS: The more she'd

RECAREY: The more sh

DOBBS: Yeah.

RECAREY: So, she had i

DOBBS: Um, I don't kn
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RECAREY: A lot?

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nassage him, and the more she did—

DOBBS: The more she'd make.

RECAREY: The more she got paid.

DOBBS: Yeah.

RECAREY: So, she had intercourse with him.

DOBBS: Um, I don't know about the intercourse. I heard different stories on that. I've never asked him "Oh, you know . . ." But when I was first introduced to him, my friend [redacted] who introduced me to him, told me that she knew a girl who slept with him and made $1,000. But from what his intern—or secretary—told me, is that he doesn't do that. He just plays around with them. So I heard two different stories.

. . .

RECAREY: So, when you went and you massaged him, nothing happened between you two.

DOBBS: Nothing. I wouldn't let him.

RECAREY: Okay. Did he become forceful? Did he get upset?

DOBBS: I wouldn't say he became upset. I think he was a little disappointed. But I'm not—I didn't care. I knew I was getting paid. I let him—I let him look, but I never let him touch. It was out of the question for him. And I think that's pretty much why he just, kind of down-promoted me? He was just kind of like, "You can bring girls." But as far as working, you know—

RECAREY: Okay. How many girls have you brought to him, aside from [redacted]?

DOBBS: Oh. Um. A lot.

RECAREY: A lot?

DOBBS: Um, let's see, there's [several redacted names]. . . .

RECAREY: And all these girls knew what they had to do?

DOBBS: Every one of them.

. . .

RECAREY: How long have you been working for him?

DOBBS: Um...I probably worked for him for a year.

RECAREY: Okay. And out of all these girls...

DOBBS: Those were all the girls I brought. But you have to remember, those girls brought other girls, too.

RECAREY: Oh, okay.

DOBBS: So it's like—it's like a train. It's like, I introduced him to all my friends, and then...it goes on and on, like that.

...

RECAREY: Okay.... [Redacted] being fourteen or fifteen at the time—I think [redacted] was fourteen when this happened—who else was underage? Out of all these?

DOBBS: Underage, what do you mean?

RECAREY: Under eighteen.

DOBBS: Under eighteen? All of 'em.

RECAREY: All of them?

DOBBS: All of them....

RECAREY: Okay. Did Jeff know anybody's real true age? Or he didn't care.

DOBBS: I don't think he cared. He told me the younger the better.

RECAREY: The younger the better. All right.

DOBBS: Pretty much. That's how it worked. He didn't—let me just put it this way: I tried to bring him a woman who was twenty-three, and he didn't really like it.

RECAREY: Didn't go for it.

DOBBS: It's not that he didn't go for it. He just didn't care for it. And he likes the girls that [are] between the ages of, like, eighteen and twenty....But some of them, I think, lie about their age. I know that when I started off young, I think he knew better [than] to believe me. I think he knew that I was

younger—like, sev
teen. Most of those

...

RECAREY: Let's talk ab

DOBBS: Okay.

RECAREY: [Mary] at th

DOBBS: Mm-hmm.

RECAREY: Okay. She t
she know you work

DOBBS: I told her.

RECAREY: You had tol

DOBBS: Mm-hmm.

RECAREY: Did you tell

DOBBS: She knew ever

RECAREY: Okay. So sh
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younger—like, seventeen—but I told him I was, like, eighteen. Most of those girls lie when they go in there.

. . .

RECAREY: Let's talk about [Mary] for a minute.

DOBBS: Okay.

RECAREY: [Mary] at the time was dating your cousin, right?

DOBBS: Mm-hmm.

RECAREY: Okay. She told you she needed to make money. Did she know you worked for Jeffrey?

DOBBS: I told her.

RECAREY: You had told her you worked for Jeffrey.

DOBBS: Mm-hmm.

RECAREY: Did you tell her what it entailed? So she knew that?

DOBBS: She knew everything before she even agreed to it.

RECAREY: Okay. So she knew that there was going to have to be some kind of—

DOBBS: Contact. Pretty much. Yeah. I told her. I told her exactly what his expectations were. I told her what goes on with the girls that go up there. I told her—it was like, "It's your call." I was like, "If you want to do this, fine. If not, fine. But when you go in that room, I don't want to hear you say, 'Oh, I didn't know he was going to do all that.' Because I'm telling you right now, he's expecting it."

RECAREY: Basically, this is touching—

DOBBS: Fondling—

RECAREY: Fondling—

DOBBS: Or whatever. And I told her when she went on her own. Just like, "Just remember, the more you do, the more you make. But that's—that's up to you." And she asked me, and I brought up, told her *I* wouldn't do more.

RECAREY: Okay. You made that clear, you wouldn't do more.

DOBBS: No. Screw that!

RECAREY: But as far as [Mary] is concerned. What did she tell you that happened in that room?

DOBBS: Exact words? If I can recall, when she came downstairs from—when she came downstairs, me and her and [redacted], we all walked out. We got into the car. And I was like, "How much did you make?" She's like, "Three hundred dollars." And I looked at [Mary] and I just knew right then she did more.

RECAREY: Than just a massage, right?

DOBBS: Yeah. And I asked her. I was like, "Well, what'd you do?" She's like, "Well, I started giving a massage, and then my clothes came off and, you know, he put his fingers inside me. And then he brought out the massager." And that's basically what she said.

...

RECAREY: It's all right. You can talk to me. It's all right.

DOBBS: It's kind of incredible talking about it, now that I—I can't believe I worked for him.

RECAREY: But it's okay. You know what, we all go through things in life, you know what I mean? It's an experience. And you can put this experience behind you.

...

Do girls that—people that you brought over—how did you approach them? That they were going to have to do this... Like, if they wanted to work, how did you approach them? Say, "Listen, I got this guy in Palm Beach?"

DOBBS: Um... Two of them were my friends. The others were, like, my acquaintances. It was a little more easier talking to them about it, 'cause, like, I knew them.

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I knew them.

RECAREY: Take a deep breath. Take a deep breath. 'Cause I can see you're working up again. You're working up the tears, I can see it, and I don't want to get you like that.

DOBBS: I, um, pretty much I just would ask them—

RECAREY: Straight up?

DOBBS: "If you're looking for extra money, let me know; this guy down in Palm Beach, he's really, really, really wealthy. You have to give him a massage." That's all I would tell them. Then, if they were interested or told me, "Yes, I want to do it," I'd go into detail with them before they'd actually agree. If they told me, "Yeah, that sounds good, I'm interested," then I'd tell them, "Okay, well I'm gonna let you know, this is what you have to do, this is what's gonna go on."

RECAREY: Did you tell them that you were going to make money from bringing them over? Or—

DOBBS: Most part? I believe they knew.… Most of the girls, we were open about that. We didn't—they pretty much knew I was making money under the table. So…

RECAREY: Okay. Gimme two seconds. Let me get the soda.… Gimme two seconds.

…

All right, I talked to my boss a little bit—

FRICK: —Which is why I'm here.

DOBBS: Okay.

FRICK: Obviously I was listening to what you were saying. And at this point you clearly implicated yourself on a crime, okay? You've taken girls to somebody's house for the purpose of prostitution. More importantly, more significantly, one of those girls was fourteen at the time, okay? Now that's a pretty significant second-degree felony, okay? I'm not going to kid you, that is—it's a significant thing, okay? Now, you came in, you cooperated with us. The question we have for you now is, do you want to continue cooperating with us and try and help us make a case against Jeff?

DOBBS: I don't think that's really going to help me in the long run, though. I've already admitted to a second-degree felony, right?

FRICK: Yeah, you have.

DOBBS: Okay, so there you go. What's going to keep me out of trouble? It's not going to keep me out of trouble. I've already admitted committing a crime.

FRICK: I'm not going to argue with that....

DOBBS: So basically I just fucked myself. I can go two ways. I can agree not to cooperate, which is going to put me at—well—now you can use the second-degree felony against me. Or you can help and work with it and maybe get myself some slack....

FRICK: We're still talkin' here. What would the odds be of you contacting Jeff at this point? Have you had any contact with him at all?

DOBBS: I have not had any contact—

FRICK: How about with—

DOBBS: No, none of 'em. None of 'em.... I had a phone call about four or five months ago, and I told my parents. Look, I swear to you I'm not anywhere—like, no connection with him at all. That's why I pretty much got my number changed. I have not made any communication with him. It stopped.

FRICK: Okay. Well, I mean, that's good. That's good that you stopped....

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RECAREY: With you

FRICK: Let me, let
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DOBBS: Not today.

FRICK: Well, you're—
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RECAREY: You sign it

FRICK: That's our pr
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RECAREY: Very truth

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FRICK: Do you want
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that's good. That's good that you

This is what we'd like to do: We would like to reach out to some of your ex-friends and [unintelligible] talk to them. Now, the question is, do we think that they are currently still working for Jeff, in which case they would make a phone call to Jeff? Or can we just kinda show up and, you know, have you make a call as we're standing outside and say: "Hey, you know, these guys wanna talk to you, and I've already told 'em everything?" Our goal is to make a better case against Jeff, all right?

RECAREY: With your cooperation.

FRICK: Let me, let me get back to—past—the cooperation thing, okay? There are lesser charges that can easily be filed: leading to the delinquency of a minor, as compared to a second-degree felony. You know what I mean? That's a misdemeanor. . . . First of all, I'll tell you straight up, okay, we're not going to take you to jail today. . . .

DOBBS: Not today.

FRICK: Well, you're—And here's the other thing: If you cooperate and if we can—If you cooperate, whether we pull it off or not—that's not up to you, that's up to us, okay? So what we would do is if we ended up charging you with like a misdemeanor, we'd give you a call, we'd say: "Hey, you gotta come in, you know."

RECAREY: You sign it. . . .

FRICK: That's our preference. You come in, you've been very forthright with us, you've been very up front—

RECAREY: Very truthful.

. . .

FRICK: Do you want us to call your parents, or do you want to deal with it, or do you—As far as we're concerned you're an adult, okay? You're nineteen. You do what you do. You know, we can drop you off at the end of the block if you'd like. Or we can cushion the blow beyond what—but again, you're helping us at this point. We've been pretty forthright with you on what is going on, our options for your future. And what we'd like you to do obviously is make a couple of calls with us this evening to talk to a couple of your, you know, these other girls.

DOBBS: I'm not really on a…Me and my parents really don't get along right now…

FRICK: So you'd prefer that—

DOBBS: If they found out that I was—If they found out that I was into some other stuff.…I'm actually stripping now.…So they're not exactly happy with me at the moment, and I don't want to do anything that's going to piss 'em off even furthermore.

## *Michael Reiter: Oc*

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# CHAPTER 15

## *Michael Reiter: October 3, 2005*

Chief Reiter sifts through the evidence: information about underage girls—six of them—whom Wendy Dobbs procured for Epstein. Phone numbers pulled from the trash on El Brillo. An arrest report for Alison, the girl who'd been caught with a dime bag of weed.

She'd told Detective Recarey about an encounter that sounded very much like a rape.

Soon Reiter will ask a judge for a warrant. But not yet. There's more footwork to do, and Reiter calls Detective Joe Recarey into his office.

Later that day, Detective Recarey and Sergeant George Frick arrive at the home of a girl named Jenny.* An older woman greets them at the front door and invites them inside. She introduces them to her husband and daughter. Jenny is sixteen years old. Sitting down at the dining room table, they see that she's nervous. In between biting her lip and fidgeting, she tells them that yes, she's been to Jeffrey Epstein's house.

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* Jenny's, Francine's, and Kristina's names, some identifying details, and dialogue have been changed.

Wendy took her there once. But nothing much happened. She met Epstein's chef and spent some time in the kitchen is all. Then she left.

"I get what you're asking," she says. "But really, I just want to put the whole thing behind me."

"Okay," the officers tell her. "You have our numbers. But Jenny, if you remember anything else, you'll find that we're very good listeners."

One down. Five to go.

Detective Reçarey and Detective Michael Dawson have better luck the next day with Francine, a girl who tells them that a year earlier, Wendy Dobbs—someone she knew from high school—drove her to the house on El Brillo Way.

Francine would have been seventeen at the time.

Now she's willing to make a sworn statement. The officers noted:

> *She was told she could make money working for Jeff. She was told she would have to provide a massage for Jeff.... She was brought to the kitchen area by [Dobbs]. They met with the house chef who was already in the Kitchen area. Francine stated [Wendy] would wait for her in the kitchen.*

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*for her in the kitchen.*

Just as she did with Mary, a woman named Sarah had taken Francine upstairs and into a bedroom. Then Epstein had entered the room, wearing only a towel.

> *She kept her clothes on during the massage. She advised sometime during the massage, Epstein grabbed her buttocks and pulled her close to him. Francine said she was [made] uncomfortable by the incident involving Jeff. At the conclusion of the massage she was paid $200.00 for the massage.*

"Do you have any formal training in massages?" the officers ask.

"No," says Francine.

But she does have one more thing to tell them.

Sarah's been calling Francine's cell phone.

It could mean any number of things. The police know already that Epstein's caught wind of their investigation. Now it appears he's doing something about it, or at least he's delegating the responsibility. This troubles the cops. But then, on that same day, they get one more break: Jenny calls and says that without her parents around she's willing to make a sworn statement.

It turns out that Jenny's visited with Epstein several times.

And, it turns out, she'd done much more than sit in the kitchen. Without her parents around, she's much more willing to talk about it.

The first time she'd gone to the house on El Brillo Way, she says, Epstein had tried to take off her shirt. She'd become upset, and this had led to a fight—a "verbal disagreement"—with Epstein.

She'd left without getting paid. Gone down to the kitchen and told Wendy, "Let's go!"

"If you're uncomfortable," Wendy had told her, "tell him to stop, and he will."

On the other hand, Wendy had also told her, "The more you do, the more you get paid."

A few weeks later, she agreed to return to the house on El Brillo.

Once again Sarah had taken Jenny upstairs and into the master bedroom. Sarah had set up the massage table, laid out the oils that Jenny would use.

Then Epstein had entered the room wearing only a towel.

Jenny had been wearing tight jeans. She had a tight belt on. She kept the jeans on, though Epstein still made a grab for her buttocks. Then he rolled onto his back and grabbed for her breasts. Jenny became upset yet again. But this time, she was paid two hundred dollars before leaving. She never did go back to the house. But, like Francine, she has one more thing to tell the detectives.

Another girl from her high school had been there on the day of her second visit with Epstein. Kristina. And later, Kristina told Jenny that she also had "a problem" with Epstein.

Girls seemed to be turning up all the time. And the detectives were just getting started.

One girl leads Chief Reiter's team to another. And every time, they hear the same story. The girls are approached by Wendy

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Dobbs. They drive over to Epstein's house. After a short wait in the kitchen—maybe some milk and cereal, if they feel hungry—they're walked upstairs. Epstein's there, waiting, wearing his towel. Sometimes with a vibrator. Sometimes the girls recommend their friends, and for this they receive a commission.

None of the girls comes from money. And none of them has been trained as a masseuse. Then again, how could they be? To become a licensed massage *apprentice* in Florida, you need to be eighteen years old, at least, and have a high school diploma or GED.

# CHAPTER 16

## *Cynthia: October 6, 2005*

Three days after meeting with Francine, the police drive to Boca Raton. They're there to see Cynthia Selleck, who's eighteen years old.* But according to the probable-cause affidavit that the Palm Beach PD is preparing in order to obtain an arrest warrant for Epstein, Cynthia was sixteen when Wendy Dobbs first took her to meet him.

During a sworn taped statement, she tells the police that she'd met Wendy at her high school. She says that Wendy had recruited her and prepped her for her first visit to Epstein's house. And she says she'd ended up going to the house "a lot of times to provide massages over the past two years." The affidavit states:

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* Cynthia Selleck's name, some identifying details, and dialogue have been changed.

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# CHAPTER 16

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> *She considered Epstein a pervert, and he kept pushing to go further and further until [Cynthia] explained she would keep telling him she had a boyfriend.*

Only recently, Cynthia says, did she begin to remove her clothes in the course of giving Epstein massages.

"Jeff would try to get away with more and more on each massage," she tells the cops.

Still, Sarah had Cynthia's cell phone number, and Sarah would call whenever Epstein was in Palm Beach to make an appointment for "work."

> *Each time she went, Sarah would meet her at the kitchen door area. She would bring her upstairs and prepare the massage table. [Cynthia] advised Epstein would ask her questions about herself. Epstein knew she was a soccer player and would be attending [a nearby] university.*

The cops want to know: Did Epstein know her real age?

> *[Cynthia] stated Epstein did and didn't care. The most recent massage she provided was on October 1, 2005.*

October 1.

That's less than a week ago.

What the cops know now is that Epstein's still at it.

What they're about to learn seals Epstein's fate.

# CHAPTER 17

## *Alison: October 11, 2005*

After speaking with Cynthia, Detectives Recarey and Dawson meet up, once again, with Alison. It's been exactly one month since her arrest, and once again, she's willing to talk. They have no trouble obtaining her sworn taped statement.

Alison is eighteen, but she's been going to Epstein's house since 2002. Things got off to a slow start, she says. She received two hundred dollars for her first session, during which she had her bra off but her underwear on. Still, at the end of the session, Epstein had asked for her number.

Then the sessions got heavier. *Much* heavier, as Detective Recarey already knew. *[Alison] stated that during her many visits a routine was established between her and Epstein,* he wrote in his report.

> *She would enter the house and get naked in the bedroom. She would then start with a back massage. Epstein would roll on*

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# CHAPTER 17

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*to his back and allow her to massage his chest area.* [Alison] *stated Epstein would then begin to masturbate himself and at the same time would insert his fingers in her vagina and masturbate her with his fingers.*

[Alison] *explained Epstein would continue this process until he ejaculated. He would then utilize a vibrator/massager on her vagina until* [Alison] *climaxed.* [Alison] *advised that during her frequent visits, Epstein asked for her real age,* [and Alison] *stated she was sixteen. Epstein advised her not to tell anyone her real age.* [Alison] *advised that things escalated within the home as Epstein would instruct and pay* [Alison] *to have intercourse with his female friend, Nada Marcinkova* [sic]. [Alison] *explained the intercourse included using strap on dildos, large rubber penis'*[sic] *and other devices that Epstein had at his disposal. Epstein would watch them have intercourse and masturbate himself. Occasionally, Epstein would then join in during the female on female intercourse and provide oral sex to both* [Alison] *and Marcinkova. This occurred during the time* [Alison] *was sixteen years of age.*

[Alison] *advised this continued to escalate during two years. The routine became familiar to* [Alison]. *Epstein's assistant Sarah would telephone her every time Epstein was in the Town of Palm Beach and would place appointments for her to visit and work for Epstein. Each time something new was introduced, additional monies were produced and offered for* [Alison] *to allow the acts to happen.* [Alison] *consented to perform all these acts but was adamant that there was an understanding with Epstein that no vaginal penetration would occur with his penis.* [Alison] *explained that*

> *Epstein's penis was deformed. [She] explained that his penis was oval shaped. [She] claimed when Epstein's penis was erect, it was thick toward the bottom but was thin and small toward the head portion. [She] called Epstein's penis "egg-shaped." [She] stated Epstein would photograph Marcinkova and her naked and having sex and proudly display the photographs within the home. [Alison] stated during one visit to Epstein's house in which she provided a massage to Epstein, his female friend, Nada [sic] Marcinkova, was also present. [Alison] provided the massage in which Marcinkova and her would fondle each other's breasts and kiss for Epstein to enjoy. Towards the end of this massage, Epstein grabbed [Alison] and turned her over onto her stomach on the massage table and forcibly inserted his penis into her vagina: [Alison] stated Epstein began to pump his penis in her vagina. [She] became upset over this. She said her head was being held against the table forcibly, as he continued to pump inside her. She screamed "No!" and Epstein stopped. She told him that she did not want to have his penis inside of her. Epstein did not ejaculate inside of her and apologized for his actions and subsequently paid her a thousand dollars for that visit. [Alison] stated she knows he still displays her photographs through out the house.*

What happened to Mary had been bad enough. But what happened to Alison was on a whole other level. She'd been caught with some pot, sure. But that was hardly a felony offense. It didn't make her a liar. And, in important respects, Alison's statement had aligned with Mary's and with statements they'd been given

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by other girls, including Wendy Dobbs. Could Wendy be trusted? Probably not. Almost certainly not. But again, what *she* said was also in line with what the police had heard from other girls.

Detective Recarey and his team had done exceptional work on the investigation that Officer Pagan had started.

It was enough, Reiter decided, to cause a judge to issue a search warrant.

# CHAPTER 18

## *Michael Reiter: October 2005*

On October 20, Palm Beach police officers execute a search warrant, signed by Judge Laura Johnson, at Jeffrey Epstein's home on El Brillo Way. Inside the house, an employee is on the phone with Epstein. They ask him, politely, to hang up. Then, guns drawn, they walk up the winding stairs to the home's second story.

Detective Recarey remains outside and reads the warrant, out loud, to Epstein's houseman while another officer videotapes them.

"This is your copy," Recarey says as he hands over the warrant. "When we are concluded, I will leave a list of what items we've taken, okay? I would ask that you don't answer your telephone. I know that the gentleman was having a conversation with Mr. Epstein at the time. So I'm sure he's trying to call and find out what's going on. He will be told what was going on as soon as we're done. Okay?"

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# CHAPTER 18

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Inside the house, detectives see the pink-and-green couch that Mary and other girls had described. They see photos of naked young girls—in some cases, girls they've spoken to about Epstein. They also find message pads on which are written first names, dates, and numbers for the girls.

Sometimes there are notes to go with the names and numbers: "I have girls for him." Or "I have 2 girls for him."

These notes are signed by one Sarah Kellen.

Epstein's house has a strangely antiseptic quality. Some of the bedrooms look almost like doctors' offices. In the bathroom off Epstein's bedroom, there's a massage table as well as stands holding strange machines, which looked like something you'd find in a dermatologist's office.

In a wood-colored armoire beside Epstein's bed, they see a bottle of peach-flavored Joy Jelly. In the bathroom, there are soaps shaped like penises and vaginas, bottles of Mango Mist, more Joy Jelly, and boxes of tampons.

The officers find stacks of UFC videos and DVDs of *Rock Star* and other B-list movies.

They also find receipts for books bought on Amazon, such as *SlaveCraft: Roadmaps for Erotic Servitude.*

On the first floor, detectives are drawn to two secret cameras hidden in clocks. On the computer hard drive, they see several photographs of Wendy and other girls. These images appear to come from the camera inside the clock behind Epstein's desk.

The officers know where the cameras are because they helped install them—in 2004, when Epstein complained that someone had stolen a gun and $2,700 from him. Detective Recarey had investigated that case. But before he could arrest Epstein's handyman, Juan Alessi, for the theft, Epstein contacted a captain in the

Palm Beach PD and prevailed upon him to have the investigation called off.

Epstein had met Alessi at a luncheonette, he explained, and Alessi had agreed to pay back the money. At the time, it made no sense to prosecute: Epstein was a busy man. He was going to get his money. But he did invite the police into his home to install the cameras. This was a service that the Palm Beach PD provided (though Epstein would be the only one with access to the footage). But while they were there, the police had noticed a group of attractive young women who seemed to be camped out at the house.

The group included Sarah Kellen and Nadia Marcinkova.

None of the girls was a relative of Epstein—that fact had caught the cops' attention.

And now, as the search continues, the cops see photographs of the very same girls.

On Epstein's desk, the officers find Alison's high school transcript.

The thing is, the detectives can't shake the feeling that the Epstein house has been tidied up for their arrival. Shelves look as though they've been emptied, and several photographs appear to have been removed from the walls.

"[Judging] by the condition of the place to be searched," Chief Reiter will say in his deposition for *B.B. vs. Epstein*, "someone probably had cleaned it up a bit."

Maybe there's nothing *too* surprising about this. After all, Reiter's team knows that Epstein's gotten wind of their investigation. What *is* surprising is that for a house that's been scrubbed, there's so much left lying around.

In fact, the oddest thing about the search is that someone

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appears to have gone through the house, gotten rid of incriminating materials, but left *many* clues behind.

It was as if the things the police were seeing didn't even register as wrong.

There's another feeling the cops can't shake: the nagging sense that they themselves are being investigated and tailed.

First Reiter hears through the grapevine that Epstein's lawyers have hired private investigators to perform background checks.

A public-records demand has been filed in an effort to obtain Reiter's own records.

Detective Recarey tells Reiter that he, too, is being surveilled and that his trash has been picked through.

In his entire career as a police officer, this is the first time that Reiter's seen or heard of such a thing: a suspect investigating his investigators. But for the moment, he puts it aside. Recarey's doing great work on the investigation. He's deeply invested, and for good reason: the detective's got four kids of his own. Right now, more victims are coming out of the woodwork. And now that the warrant's been executed, there's no downside to interviewing Epstein's servants.

# CHAPTER 19

## Detective Recarey, Probable-Cause Affidavit: May 2006

*On November 21, 2005 I interviewed Jose [sic] Alessi, a former houseman for Jeffrey Epstein. Alessi stated he was employed for eleven years with Mr. Epstein, from approximately 1993 through 2004. Alessi stated he was the house manager, driver and house maintenance person. It was his responsibility to prepare the house for Epstein's arrival. When asked about cooks or assistants, Alessi stated they traveled with Epstein on his private plane. I asked Mr. Alessi about the massages that have occurred at Epstein's home. Alessi stated Epstein receives three massages a day. Each masseuse that visited the house was different. Alessi stated that towards the end of his employment, the masseuses were younger and younger. When asked how young, Mr. Alessi stated they appeared to be sixteen or seventeen years of age*

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# CHAPTER 19

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use was different. Alessi stated
mployment, the masseuses were
n asked how young, Mr. Alessi
ixteen or seventeen years of age

*at the most. The massages would occur in Epstein's bedroom or bathroom. He knew this because he often set up the massage tables. I asked if there were things going on other than a massage. Alessi stated that there were times towards the end of his employment that he would have to wash off a massager/vibrator and a long rubber penis, which were in the sink after the massage. Additionally, he stated the bed would almost always have to be made after the massage.*

*On January 4, 2006 I interviewed another former houseman, Mr. Alfredo Rodriguez. During a sworn taped statement, Mr. Rodriguez stated he was employed by Jeffrey Epstein for approximately six months, from November 2004 through May of 2005. His responsibilities as house manager included being the butler, chauffeur, chef, houseman [and to] run errands for Epstein and provide for Epstein's guests. I asked Rodriguez about masseuses coming to the house. Rodriguez stated Epstein would have two massages a day. Epstein would have one massage in the morning and one massage in the afternoon everyday he was in residence. Rodriguez stated he would be informed to expect someone and make them comfortable until either Sarah Kellen or Epstein would meet with them. Rodriguez stated once the masseuses would arrive, he would allow them entry into the kitchen area and offer them something to drink or eat. They would then be encountered by either Sarah Kellen or Epstein. They would be taken upstairs to provide the massage. I asked Rodriguez if any of the masseuses appeared young in age. Rodriguez stated the girls that would come appeared to be too young to be masseuses. He stated one time under Epstein's direction, he delivered a dozen roses to [Mary's high school]* *for one of the girls that came to provide a massage. He knew the girls were still in high school and were of high school age. I asked Rodriguez about the massages. He felt there was a lot more going on than just massages.*

*He would often clean Mr. Epstein's bedroom after the alleged massages and would discover massagers/vibrators and sex toys scattered on the floor. He also said he would wipe down the vibrators and sex toys and put them away in an armoire. He described the armoire as a small wood armoire which was on the wall close to Epstein's bed. On one occasion Epstein ordered Rodriguez to go to the Dollar rent a car and rent a car for the same girl he brought the roses to, so that she could drive her self to Epstein's house without incident. Rodriguez said the girl always needed rides to and from the house.*

*Rodriguez produced a green folder which contained documents, and a note with Mr. Epstein's stationery with direction to deliver a bucket of roses to [Mary's] High School after [a] high school drama performance. . . .*

*During the course of the investigation, subpoenas were obtained for cell phone and home phone records from several victims and witnesses along with the cell phone records of Sarah Kellen. An analysis of these records was conducted which found numerous telephone calls were made between Sarah Kellen and the victims. These records indicate the dates the calls were made are consistent with the dates and times the victims/witnesses stated they were contacted. Specifically, the phone records showed Kellen called [Wendy Dobbs] during the exact times and dates when [name redacted] advised the incident occurred. Kellen also coordinated the encounters*

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*nated the encounters with [name redacted] during the time frame the girls stated they occurred.*

*Pursuant to a lawful subpoena I obtained Epstein's private plane records for 2005 from Jet Aviation. The plane records show arrival and departure of Epstein's plane at Palm Beach International airport. These records were compared to the cell phone records of Sarah Kellen. This comparison found that all the phone calls Kellen made to [Dobbs] and the victims were made in the days just prior to their arrival or during the time Epstein was in Palm Beach.*

*Therefore, as Jeffrey Epstein, who at the time of these incidents was fifty one years of age, did have vaginal intercourse either with his penis or digitally with [names redacted], who were minors at the time this occurred, there is sufficient probable cause to charge Jeffrey Epstein with four counts of Unlawful Sexual Activity with a Minor, in violation of Florida State Statute 794.05(1), a second degree felony. As Epstein, who at the time of the incident was fifty two years of age, did use a vibrator on the external vaginal area of [name redacted], a fourteen year old minor, there is sufficient probable cause to charge him with Lewd and Lascivious Molestation, in violation of Florida State Statute 800.04 (5), a second degree felony.*

# PART II

## The Man

**From:** Lisa New [redacted]
**Sent:** 12/19/2016 4:36:41 AM
**To:** Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**CC:** Leah Reis-Dennis [redacted]
**Subject:** Thank You from Lisa and Poetry in America

**Importance:** High

Dear
Jeffrey
(*and please see note at bottom*),

This end-of-the-year letter is to catch you up on developments and to report progress made in 2016 by *Poetry in America,* by its associated non-profit production company, Verse Video Education, and by (and with) our new Harvard partner, the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning. Whether you are a longstanding adviser and supporter of *Poetry in America*, or you've more recently joined our circle of proponents, your contributions, thought partnership and enthusiasm have made this year's successes possible.

Last fall, I knew this would be a crucial year. Goals for 2016 included moving our co-produced television series, *Poetry in America,* toward a concrete release date (now entering post-production, we launch nationwide in April 2018), converting our six HarvardX MOOC modules into for-credit courses (now complete and being offered by Harvard's Division of Continuing Education), and getting the word out on our first course developed especially for K-12 educators, *Poetry in America for Teachers: The City from Whitman to Hip Hop*. With a mission of creating and distributing the highest-quality humanities content for a wide variety of learners, our projects now rely on a salaried production staff of five, a rotating corps of part timers and contractors, and a growing cohort of Harvard graduate students, undergraduates and interns whom we train in the public-facing humanities. Growing fast, in 2016 we more firmly established Verse Video Education as a nimble and stable producer of humanities-based content (now including an archive of over 120 separate interviews with distinguished discussants), while also defining a forward-looking partnership and growth strategy with Harvard. As 2016 draws to a close, I have much progress to report.

**Verse Video Education: Independent 501c3**
In April 2016, Verse Video Education, the fledgling production company I'd founded in 2014, received IRS approval and became a 501c3. Now capable of accepting philanthropic contributions, Verse Video Education has also begun to generate revenue by producing high-quality educational media for other institutions. Clients within our first year included Greenwich Country Day School, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Schlesinger Library, Harvard Institute for Global Health, and Project Zero. While philanthropic donations remain essential, work for clients allows us to amplify the impact of philanthropic donations, not only permitting additional investment in our flagship partnerships with WGBH and Harvard, but also fostering development of new partnerships and projects. These include a video series on poetry and science now running with award-winning magazine *Nautilus*, a collaboration with distinguished poet Robert Pinsky and his Favorite Poem Project, and an expansion of our poetry film series with partners at The Nantucket Project. Advised by a stellar and diversely talented board, Verse Video Education is looking toward sustainability. We are now discussing distribution of new content with a variety of stakeholders, including media providers in China.

**New Harvard Partner: Bok Center for Teaching and Learning**
Meanwhile, *Poetry in America* has deepened its partnership and formulated a plan for growth going forward at Harvard. This fall, Harvard's Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Mike Smith,

endorsed the integration and expansion of my public-facing humanities work within the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning. As a Bok Fellow this year, and alongside Bok director Rob Lue in the years to come, I will be working to substantially expand Bok's capacity and resources to train humanists in 21st-century methods of public engagement-- developing courses, digital fellowship opportunities and also securing distribution outlets and partners for content produced in Bok by Harvard humanists. By next year at this time, I will be turning some of my attention beyond poetry (my favorite, but hardly the only humanistic mode of communication!) to create a wider base of humanities materials for use in American schools and other institutions. We will begin integrating and anchoring *Poetry in America* content (on art, sport and play; on the environment; and on health and well being) with content created by others. As I continue to experiment with use of digital media within my residential courses for undergraduates and graduates, I shall also be working with other faculty and graduate students. My work at Bok will also facilitate collaborations between humanists working across the whole university. Projects for 2017 include work with HarvardX on drama and Shakespeare, with Harvard's Center for the Environment, with the Arts and Humanities Initiative at Harvard Medical School, and with several programs within Harvard's Graduate School of Education.

**Launching in 2017: Our First Course Designed Specifically for Teachers**
Verse Video Education has allocated much of its staff time this year to bringing its first course designed specifically to support the American secondary classroom to completion. Poetry in America for Teachers: The City from Whitman to Hip Hop draws on assets created at HarvardX, along with footage captured with our TV partners and independently by Verse Video Education. The resulting course, designed for English, Social Studies, and Arts teachers, as well as for librarians, administrators and others, provides deep content instruction as well as pedagogical training. Common Core aligned, this course, the first of its kind, is now open for enrollment, and will launch January 23rd. We are currently discussing group enrollments with major educational systems and reformers across the nation, and we are also raising scholarship funds for strapped enrollees. Over time, we hope to play a leading role in improving literacy and in strengthening the humanities across the American educational landscape.

**Airing Nationwide in 2018: Poetry in America, The Television Series**
In May 2016, Verse Video Education was asked by WGBH and American Public Television to expand its television series in development from 8 to 13 episodes, listed below.

*The following episodes are entering post-production:*

***On Edward Hirsch's "Fast Break"*****:** Shaquille O'Neal, Pau Gasol, Shane Battier, Edward Hirsch, and an on-court pick-up basketball chorus filmed at Success Academy Charter School; ***On W.H. Auden's "Musee Des Beaux Arts"*****:** Ambassador Samantha Power, David Brooks, Peter Sacks; ***On Robert Hayden's "Those Winter Sundays"*****:** Vice President Joe Biden, Elizabeth Alexander, Angela Duckworth, Kevin Young, and a chorus of fathers and sons; ***On Carl Sandburg's "Skyscraper"*****:** Frank Gehry, Robert Polito, and a chorus of Young Student Poets; ***On Nas's "New York State of Mind"*****:** Nas, Russell Simmons, Salamishah Tillet, Steve Stoute, and a chorus of hip hop heads; ***On Galway Kinnell's "The Grey Heron":*** E.O. Wilson, Robert Hass, Laura McPhee; ***On Gwendolyn Brooks's "To Prisoners"*****:** Anna Deveare Smith, Reginald Dwayne Betts, Li-Young Lee and a chorus of exonerees from the Innocence Project; ***On William Carlos Williams's "This Is Just To Say"*****:** Woody Allen, Jane Hirshfield, Rafael Campo and a chorus of couples young and old; ***On Langston Hughes's "Harlem":*** President Bill Clinton, Herbie Hancock, Sonia Sanchez and a chorus of children from Promise Academy; ***On Allen Ginsberg's Hymmnn from "Kaddish" and "Hum Bom":*** Bono, Juan Felipe Herrera and a chorus of clergy.

*The production of the following episodes will wrap early 2017:*

***On Emily Dickinson's "I cannot dance opon my Toes"*:** Cynthia Nixon, Yo Yo Ma, Marie Howe and Bill T. Jones; ***On Marianne Moore's "The Fish"*:** Jorie Graham, Edward Norton, Conservation International scientists, and the passengers and crew of oceanographic vessel *The Alucia*; ***On Elizabeth Bishop's "One Art" or Edna St. Vincent Millay's "Four Sonnets."***

--

*Jeffrey,*

*Just a quick note to thank you again for all the help you've given me. The generous contribution you made last year to Verse Video Education is now in use (we've hired our new editor!). Once he helps us to plow through the work of this year, we'll begin to look forward to crafting educational content on the literature of art, sport and play (these materials now including footage from recent shoots with Shaquille O'Neal, Yo Yo Ma, Cynthia Nixon, Bono and others). 100K makes so much possible.*

*But, of course, you've also been a key preceptor as I've learned how --squirming all the way--the sausage really gets made in public television. I can't say I've been entirely successful in taming costs there, but I've been far better armed and more mindful of what they should be after the stern tutorial you administered.*

*Whenever Templeton might be ready to evaluate another application, I'm ready for another proposal for them. I wonder if you might arrange a meeting for me with the famous Barnaby? I can't yet afford a grant writer, and so the time one of these suckers takes makes me think doing more advance reconnaissance is crucial. Would he meet with me? Kosher? I'd also love to meet with the Blacks as I get closer to making content on theatre. I hope that Debra is well.*

*And heard there's another little Jeff in the caribbean...*

*Best,*

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

# Wall Street Journal, December 30, 2016

# The Fable of Edward Snowden

As he seeks a pardon, the NSA thief has told multiple lies about what he stole and his dealings with Russian intelligence.

EDWARD JAY EPSTEIN

Of all the lies that Edward Snowden has told since his massive theft of secrets from the National Security Agency and his journey to Russia via Hong Kong in 2013, none is more provocative than the claim that he never intended to engage in espionage, and was only a "whistleblower" seeking to expose the overreach of NSA's information gathering. With the clock ticking on Mr. Snowden's chance of a pardon, now is a good time to review what we have learned about his real mission.

Mr. Snowden's theft of America's most closely guarded communication secrets occurred in May 2013, according to the criminal complaint filed against him by federal prosecutors the following month. At the time Mr. Snowden was a 29-year-old technologist working as an analyst-in-training for the consulting firm of Booz Allen Hamilton at the regional base of the National Security Agency (NSA) in Oahu, Hawaii. On May 20, only some six weeks after his job there began, he failed to show up for work, emailing his supervisor that he was at the hospital being tested for epilepsy.

This excuse was untrue. Mr. Snowden was not even in Hawaii. He was in Hong Kong. He had flown there with a cache of secret data that he had stolen from the NSA.

This was not the only lie Mr. Snowden told. As became clear during my investigation over the past three years, nearly every element of the narrative Mr. Snowden has provided, which reached its final iteration in Oliver Stone's 2016 movie, "Snowden," is demonstrably false.

This narrative began soon after Mr. Snowden arrived in Hong Kong, where he arranged to meet with Laura Poitras, a Berlin-based documentary filmmaker, and Glenn Greenwald, a Brazil-based blogger for the Guardian. Both journalists were longtime critics of NSA surveillance with whom Mr. Snowden (under the alias Citizen Four) had been in contact for four months.

To provide them with scoops discrediting NSA operations, Mr. Snowden culled several thousand documents out of his huge cache of stolen material, including two explosive documents he asked them to use in their initial stories. One was the now-famous secret order from America's Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act court requiring Verizon to turn over to the NSA its billing records for its phone users in the U.S. The other was an NSA slide presentation detailing its ability to intercept communications of non-American users of the internet via a joint program with the FBI code-named Prism.

These documents were published in 2013 on June 5 and 6, followed by a video in which he identified himself as the leaker and a whistleblower.

At the heart of Mr. Snowden's narrative was his claim that while he may have incidentally "touched" other data in his search of NSA files, he took only documents that exposed the malfeasance of the NSA and gave all of them to journalists.

Yet even as Mr. Snowden's narrative was taking hold in the public realm, a secret damage assessment done by the NSA and Pentagon told a very different story. According to a unanimous report declassified on Dec. 22 by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the investigation showed that Mr. Snowden had "removed" (not merely touched) 1.5 million documents. That huge number was based on, among other evidence, electronic logs that recorded the selection, copying and moving of documents.

The number of purloined documents is more than what NSA officials were willing to say in 2013 about the removal of data, possibly because the House committee had the benefit of the Pentagon's more-extensive investigation. But even just taking into account the material that Mr. Snowden handed over to journalists, the December House report concluded that he compromised "secrets that protect American troops overseas and secrets that provide vital defenses against terrorists and nation-states." These were, the report said, "merely the tip of the iceberg."

The Pentagon's investigation during 2013 and 2014 employed hundreds of military-intelligence officers, working around the clock, to review all 1.5 million documents. Most had nothing to do with domestic surveillance or whistle blowing. They were mainly military secrets, as Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified before the House Armed Services Committee on March 6, 2014.

It was not the quantity of Mr. Snowden's theft but the quality that was most telling. Mr. Snowden's theft put documents at risk that could reveal the NSA's Level 3 tool kit—a reference to documents containing the NSA's most-important sources and methods. Since the agency was created in 1952, Russia and other adversary nations had been trying to penetrate its Level-3 secrets without great success.

Yet it was precisely these secrets that Mr. Snowden changed jobs to steal. In an interview in Hong Kong's South China Morning Post on June 15, 2013, he said he sought to work on a Booz Allen contract at the CIA, even at a cut in pay, because it gave him access to secret lists of computers that the NSA was tapping into around the world.

He evidently succeeded. In a 2014 interview with Vanity Fair, Richard Ledgett,the NSA executive who headed the damage-assessment team, described one lengthy document taken by Mr. Snowden that, if it fell into the wrong hands, would provide a "road map" to what targets abroad the NSA was, and was not, covering. It contained the requests made by the 17 U.S. services in the so-called Intelligence Community for NSA interceptions abroad.

On June 23, less than two weeks after Mr. Snowden released the video that helped present his narrative, he left Hong Kong and flew to Moscow, where he received protection by the Russian government. In much of the media coverage that followed, the ultimate destination of these stolen secrets was fogged over—if not totally obscured from the public—by the unverified claims that Mr. Snowden was spoon feeding to handpicked journalists.

In his narrative, Mr. Snowden always claims that he was a conscientious "whistleblower" who turned over all the stolen NSA material to journalists in Hong Kong. He has insisted he had no intention of defecting to Russia but was on his way to Latin America when he was trapped in Russia by the U.S. government in an attempt to demonize him.

For example, in October 2014, he told the editor of the Nation, “I’m in exile. My government revoked my passport intentionally to leave me exiled” and “chose to keep me in Russia.” According to Mr. Snowden, the U.S. government accomplished this entrapment by suspending his passport while he was in midair after he departed Hong Kong on June 23, thus forcing him into the hands of President Vladimir Putin’s regime. None of this is true. The State Department invalidated Mr. Snowden’s passport while he was still in Hong Kong, not after he left for Moscow on June 23. The “Consul General-Hong Kong confirmed that Hong Kong authorities were notified that Mr. Snowden’s passport was revoked June 22,” according to the State Department’s senior watch officer, as reported by ABC news on June 23, 2013.

Mr. Snowden could not have been unaware of the government’s pursuit of him, since the criminal complaint against him, which was filed June 14, had been headline news in Hong Kong. That the U.S. acted against him while he was still in Hong Kong is of great importance to the timeline because it points to the direct involvement of Aeroflot, an airline which the Russian government effectively controls. Aeroflot bypassed its normal procedures to allow Mr. Snowden to board the Moscow flight—even though he had neither a valid passport nor a Russian visa, as his newly assigned lawyer, Anatoly Kucherena,said at a press conference in Russia on July 12, 2013.

By falsely claiming his passport was invalidated after the plane departed Hong Kong—instead of before he left—Mr. Snowden hoped to conceal this extraordinary waiver. The Russian government further revealed its helping hand, judging by a report in Russia’s Izvestia newspaper when, on arrival, Mr. Snowden was taken off the plane by a security team in a “special operation.”

Nor was it any kind of accident. Vladimir Putin personally authorized this assistance after Mr. Snowden met with Russian officials in Hong Kong, as Mr. Putin admitted in a televised press conference on Sept. 2, 2013.

To provide a smokescreen for Mr. Snowden’s escape from Hong Kong, WikiLeaks (an organization that the Obama administration asserted to be a tool of Russian intelligence after the hacking of Democratic Party leaders’ email in 2016) booked a dozen or more diversionary flight reservations to other destinations for Mr. Snowden.

WikiLeaks co-founder Julian Assange also dispatched Sarah Harrison, his deputy at WikiLeaks, to fly to Hong Kong to pay Mr. Snowden’s expenses and escort him to Moscow. In short, Mr. Snowden’s arrival in Moscow was neither accidental nor the work of the U.S. government.

Mr. Snowden’s own narrative asserts that he came to Russia not only empty-handed but without access to any of the stolen material. He wrote in Vanity Fair in 2014 that he had destroyed all of it before arriving in Moscow—the very data that he went to such lengths to steal a few weeks earlier in Hawaii.

As it turns out, this claim is also untrue. It is belied by two Kremlin insiders who were in a position to know what Mr. Snowden actually brought with him to Moscow. One of them, Frants Klintsevich, was the first deputy chairman of the defense and security committee of the Duma (Russia’s parliament) at the time of Mr. Snowden’s defection. “Let’s be frank,” Mr. Klintsevich said in a taped interview with NPR in June 2016, “Mr. Snowden did share intelligence. This is what security services do.”

The other insider was Anatoly Kucherena, a well-connected Moscow lawyer and Mr. Putin’s friend. Mr. Kucherena served as the intermediary between Mr. Snowden and

Russian authorities. On Sept. 23, 2013, Mr. Kucherena gave a long interview to Sophie Shevardnadze, a journalist for Russia Today television.

When Ms. Shevardnadze directly asked him if Mr. Snowden had given all the documents he had taken from the NSA to journalists in Hong Kong, Mr. Kucherena said Mr. Snowden had only given "some" of the NSA's documents in his possession to journalists in Hong Kong. "So he [Mr. Snowden] does have some materials that haven't been made public yet?" Ms. Shevardnadze asked. "Certainly," Mr. Kucherena answered.

This disclosure filled in a crucial piece of the puzzle. It explained why NSA documents that Mr. Snowden had copied, but had not given to the journalists in Hong Kong—such as the embarrassing revelation about the NSA targeting the cellphone of German Chancellor Angela Merkel—continued to surface after Mr. Snowden arrived in Moscow, along with NSA documents released via WikiLeaks.

As this was a critical discrepancy in Mr. Snowden's narrative, I went to Moscow in October 2015 to see Mr. Kucherena. During our conversation, Mr. Kucherena confirmed that his interview with Ms. Shevardnadze was accurate, and that Mr. Snowden had brought secret material with him to Moscow.

Mr. Snowden's narrative also includes the assertion that he was neither debriefed by nor even met with any Russian government official after he arrived in Moscow. This part of the narrative runs counter to findings of U.S. intelligence. According to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence report, Mr. Snowden, since he arrived in Moscow, "has had, and continues to have, contact with Russian intelligence services." This finding is consistent with Russian debriefing practices, as described by the ex-KGB officers with whom I spoke in Moscow

Mr. Snowden also publicly claimed in Moscow in December 2013 to have secrets in his head, including "access to every target, every active operation. Full lists of them." Could Mr. Snowden's Russian hosts ignore such an opportunity after Mr. Putin had authorized his exfiltration to Moscow? Mr. Snowden, with no exit options, was in the palm of their hands. Under such circumstances, as Mr. Klintsevich pointed out in his June NPR interview: "If there's a possibility to get information, they [the Russian intelligence services] will get it."

The transfer of state secrets from Mr. Snowden to Russia did not occur in a vacuum. The intelligence war did not end with the termination of the Cold War; it shifted to cyberspace. Even if Russia could not match the NSA's state-of-the-art sensors, computers and productive partnerships with the cipher services of Britain, Israel, Germany and other allies, it could nullify the U.S. agency's edge by obtaining its sources and methods from even a single contractor with access to Level 3 documents.

Russian intelligence uses a single umbrella term to cover anyone who delivers it secret intelligence. Whether a person acted out of idealistic motives, sold information for money or remained clueless of the role he or she played in the transfer of secrets—the provider of secret data is considered an "espionage source." By any measure, it is a job description that fits Mr. Snowden.

Mr. Epstein's book, "How America Lost Its Secrets: Edward Snowden, the Man and the Theft," will be published by Knopf in January.

## Journal Video: Investigative Journalist Edward Jay Epstein on Snowden;s Legend

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**From**: Bruce Moskowitz [redacted]
**Sent**: 12/31/2016 11:57:08 PM
**To**: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject**: Chatter
**Attachments**: Trump and Doctors Meet.pdf; Untitled attachment 129107.txt

**Importance**: High

FYI you were right. Happy New Year.

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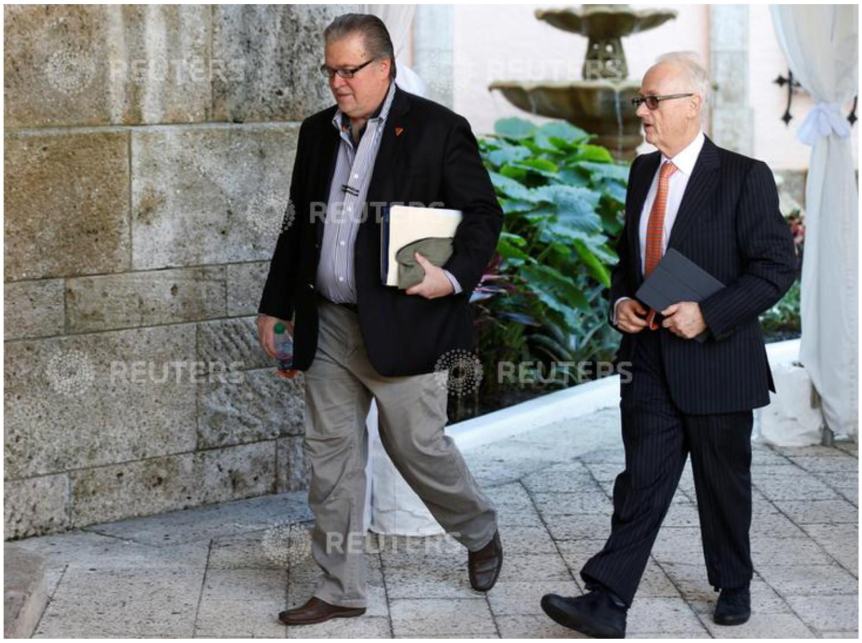

DATE IMPORTED: December 28,

Steve Bannon (L), senior counselor to U.S
Dr. Bruce Moskowitz (R) as they arrive to
leaders at the Mar-a-lago Club in Palm Be
REUTERS/Jonathan Ernst

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thetimes-tribune.com
THE BORYS BLOG

# Trump meets with docs today as Congress preps Obamacare repeal

December 28th, 2016
Goto comments Leave a comment

In case you're interested, President-elect Donald Trump meets today with a a group of doctors at his Mar-a-Lago resort in Palm Beach, Florida.
They are Dr. John H. Noseworthy, president and chief executive officer of the Mayo Clinic; Dr. Paul B. Rothman, dean of the medical faculty, vice president for medicine of The Johns Hopkins University and chief executive officer of Johns Hopkins Medicine; Dr. Bruce Moskowitz; Dr. David F. Torchiana, president and chief executive officer of Partners HealthCare; and Dr. Toby Cosgrove, president and chief executive officer of the Cleveland Clinic.
The Cleveland Clinic has lots of patients, but a notable one is U.S. Rep. Tom Marino, R-10, Lycoming Twp., one of Mr. Trump's top supporters, who has undergone kidney cancer surgery there.
None of the doctors gave to Mr. Trump's campaign and generally don't contribute much to political campaigns if at all. When they do, they donate mostly to Democrats.
Mr. Trump is also meeting with Isaac Perlmutter, chief executive officer of Marvel Entertainment, and David M. Rubenstein the co-founder of Carlyle Group.
Mr. Perlumuter hardly ever gives to political campaigns either, but his wife, Laura, gave $2 million to former presidential candidate Marco Rubio's campaign super PAC, according to The New York Times.
Mr. Rubenstein gives extensively to candidates from both parties.
Neither he nor Perlmutter gave to Mr. Trump.
– BORYS KRAWCZENIUK

Author: borys Categories: Uncategorized Tags: Bruce Moskowitz, Cleveland Clinic, David F. Torchiana, David Rubenstein, Donald Trump, Isaac Perlmutter, John H. Noseworthy, Laura Perlmutter, Marco Rubio, Mayo Clinic, Palm Beach Florida, Paul B. Rothman, Toby Cosgrove, Tom Marino

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Ted Cruz humming forget-filled tune on president-elect Donald Trump

The Borys
Blog

The Washington Post

To Your Health

# Trump just met with super-influential health-care executives you've probably never heard of

**By** Ariana Eunjung Cha December 28 at 1:20 PM

President-elect Donald Trump's meeting this month with Silicon Valley's elite made headlines for its inclusion of such big names as Apple's Tim Cook, Facebook's Sheryl Sandberg, Tesla Motors's Elon Musk, and Amazon's Jeffrey P. Bezos. (Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

The group talked about a wide range of topics, including bringing jobs back to the United States, immigration, China, cybersecurity, taxes and technology in schools.

What has been less publicized is that Trump has been holding similar meet-and-greets with other titans of industry in critical areas of the economy, including finance and network news.

On Wednesday, his guests were health-care executives — many of whom represent companies or institutions that have a big stake in the outcome of Trump's ambitions to dismantle the Affordable Care Act. According to a pool report, the group, all men, met with him at 11 a.m. at the Mar-a-Lago estate in Palm Beach, Fla. They included John Noseworthy of the Mayo Clinic, Paul Rothman of Johns Hopkins Medicine, David Torchiana of Partners HealthCare and Toby Cosgrove of the Cleveland Clinic.

Noseworthy, a neurologist who is president and CEO of the Mayo Clinic, in recent years has been an articulate commentator about health-care reform on TV shows such as MSNBC's "Morning Joe," NBC's "Meet the Press," and "Charlie Rose." He has argued that Obamacare was basically an expansion of insurance coverage and did not emphasize patient health enough.

In an interview with The Washington Post in November, he said his office had already been in touch with Trump's transition team offering help.

"We're really talking about replace and repair, rather than repeal. But we haven't seen a full approach yet from the administration. Personally, this is me speaking. ... We're basically optimistic we can create a better system together," Noseworthy said.

In a statement issued by his office shortly after the meeting began, Noseworthy said the invitation from Trump was to "share his perspective on the future of healthcare delivery, research and excellence" and that he was "pleased for the opportunity."

Rothman is chief executive of Johns Hopkins Medicine and several years ago found himself in the awkward position of criticizing physician Ben Carson, who at the time was head of pediatric neurology for the institution, after he made disparaging remarks about same-sex marriage. Carson later apologized publicly for his "poorly chosen words." Carson, a onetime political rival of Trump's, has been tapped to lead the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Torchiana is chief executive of Partners HealthCare, based in Massachusetts — a state that has long been at the forefront of health-care reform. Partners operates two of the most well-regarded hospitals in the world, Massachusetts General and Brigham and Women's Hospital, which are affiliated with Harvard Medical School. But in recent months, Partners has been under fire from some policymakers because of what they describe as a large gap between what Partners charges and what other providers charge.

Cosgrove, a heart surgeon and Vietnam veteran who is chief executive of the Cleveland Clinic, may be a candidate for the head of the Department of Veterans Affairs, according to Bloomberg News. Cosgrove has met with Trump several other times. He's on an advisory panel of 16 executives for the president-elect on jobs and the economy, has been spotted in Trump Tower recently and was in Palm Beach meeting with Trump last week.

Cosgrove has criticized Obamacare and in September appeared on CNBC's "Squawk Box" saying that health-care providers are drowning in paperwork.

"The number of quality metrics that we have to report to the government every year is just going up like crazy. We're now reporting well over 100 quality metrics on a regular basis," he said, describing regulation paperwork as coming in seven-foot-tall stacks of 16,000 pages.

Also in the meeting were Bruce Moskowitz, described as a physician in Palm Beach, and Isaac Perlmutter, chief executive officer of Marvel Entertainment. We can't explain what he was doing there.

Separately, former Wisconsin governor Tommy Thompson was expected to meet with Trump later in the day to discuss Obamacare reform, according to a pool report. Thompson served as secretary of health and human services during George W. Bush's first term.

*This post has been updated.*

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Ariana Eunjung Cha is a national reporter. She has previously served as the Post's bureau chief in Shanghai and San Francisco, and as a correspondent in Baghdad.
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---

**From**: Harry Fisch [[redacted]]
**Sent**: 1/25/2017 4:15:19 PM
**To**: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject**: Re:

**Importance**: High

NY state just passed a law last week guaranteeing coverage statewide exactly like the ACA.

Contacted Puerto Rico's governor to set up a meeting. Meetings for NY State occurs in 2 weeks then I contact Cuomo. "Let women choose which condom they want". The one that's free with insurance that women control or the male condom that's in the hands of men.

Let's go over my company overview when you have time.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 25, 2017, at 6:45 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/25/health/iuds-trump/

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**From:** Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]]
**Sent:** 2/11/2017 1:37:47 PM
**To:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Re:

**Importance:** High

No, I ranked much much lower

Sent from my iPad

On Feb 11, 2017, at 5:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

if hes mcguyver .   are you marla maples?

On Fri, Feb 10, 2017 at 7:24 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

> Hard to imagine.  He really does remind me of mcgyver and I am suffering ptsd.
>
> Sent from my iPad
>
> On Feb 10, 2017, at 7:20 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> worse in real life and upclose.
>
> On Fri, Feb 10, 2017 at 7:11 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Trump is so gross. Privileged - Redacted
>>
>> Sent from my iPad
>
> --
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**Joe D. Whitley**
**Alston & Bird LLP**
The Atlantic Building
950 F Street, NW
Washington, DC 20004-1404
[redacted]

May 27, 2008

**VIA FACSIMILE** [redacted]

***CONFIDENTIAL***

Honorable Mark Filip
Office of the Deputy Attorney General
United States Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Judge Filip:

This letter briefly supplements our prior submission to you dated May 19, 2008. In that communication, we urgently requested that your Office conduct an independent review of the proposed federal prosecution of our client, Jeffrey Epstein. The dual reasons for our request that you review this matter are (i) the bedrock need for integrity in the enforcement of federal criminal laws, and (ii) the profound questions raised by the unprecedented extension of federal law by the United States Attorney's Office in Miami (the "USAO") to a prominent public figure who has close ties to former President Clinton.

The need for review is now all the more exigent. On Monday, May 19, 2008, First Assistant Jeffrey Sloman of the USAO responded to an email from Jay Lefkowitz informing U.S. Attorney Alex Acosta that we would be seeking your Office's review. Mr. Sloman's letter, which imposed a deadline of June 2, 2008 to comply with all the terms of the current Non-Prosecution Agreement (the "Agreement"), plus new unilateral modifications, on pain of being deemed in breach of that Agreement, appears to have been deliberately designed to deprive us of an adequate opportunity to seek your Office's review in this matter.

The USAO's desire to foreclose a complete review is understandable, given that the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section ("CEOS") has already determined that our substantive arguments regarding why a federal prosecution of Mr. Epstein is not warranted were "compelling." However, in contradiction to Mr. Sloman's assertion that CEOS had provided an independent, *de novo* review, CEOS made clear that it did not do so. Indeed, CEOS declined to examine several of the more troubling aspects of the investigation of Mr. Epstein, including the deliberate leak to the *New York Times* of numerous highly confidential aspects of the investigation and negotiations between the parties as well as the recent crop of civil lawsuits filed against Mr. Epstein by Mr. Sloman's former law partner.

The unnecessary and arbitrarily imposed deadline set by the USAO was done without any respect for the normal functioning and scheduling of state judicial matters. It requires that Mr. Epstein's counsel persuade the State Attorney of Palm Beach to issue a criminal information to a charge that the State Attorney has not, despite a two year investigation, determined to be appropriate. Mr. Epstein's counsel must also successfully expedite a plea of guilty to this charge on a date prior to July 8, 2008, which is the date presently set by the state court Judge.

Further, the unnecessary deadline is even more problematic because Mr. Epstein's effort to reconcile the state charge and sentence with the terms of the Agreement requires an unusual and unprecedented threatened application of federal law. Thus, it places Mr. Epstein in the highly unusual position of having to demand that the State acquiesce to a more severe punishment than it had already determined was appropriate.

We have attempted to resolve these and other issues through the USAO and CEOS, including raising our concerns about the USAO's inappropriate conduct with respect to this matter. But those avenues have now been shut down. Mr. Sloman's letter purports to prohibit any further contact between Mr. Epstein's defense team and U.S. Attorney Acosta, and instead requires us to communicate with the USAO only though Mr. Sloman's subordinates.

While it pains us to say this, this misguided prosecution from the outset gives the appearance that it may have been politically motivated. Mr. Epstein is a highly successful, self-made businessman and philanthropist who entered the public arena only by virtue of his close personal association with former President Bill Clinton. There is little doubt in our minds that the USAO never would have contemplated a prosecution in this case if Mr. Epstein were just another "John."

U.S. Attorney Acosta previously has stated that he is "sympathetic" to our federalism-related concerns, but he has taken the position that his authority is limited by enforcement policies set forth in Washington, D.C. As expressed in our prior communication to you, we believe that a complete and independent appraisal and resolution of this case most appropriately would be undertaken by your Office—beginning with the rescission of the arbitrary, unfair, and unprecedented deadline that Mr. Sloman demands to have imposed in this case. At the very least, we would appreciate a tolling of the arbitrary timeline imposed on our client by the USAO in order to allow time for your office to consider our request that you undertake a review of this case.

Thank you for your time and attention.

Respectfully submitted,

Kenneth W. Starr

Kenneth W. Starr
Kirkland & Ellis LLP

Joe Whitley

Joe D. Whitley
Alston & Bird LL

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# KIRKLAND & ELLIS LLP

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| *From:* | *Date:* | *Pages w/cover:* | *Fax #:* | *Direct #:* |
| Kenneth W. Starr | May 27, 2008 | 3 | [redacted] | |

*Message:*

**Kenneth W. Starr**
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[redacted]

**Joe D. Whitley**
**Alston & Bird LLP**
The Atlantic Building
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Washington, DC 20004-1404
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May 19, 2008

VIA FACSIMILE [redacted]

***CONFIDENTIAL***

Honorable Mark Filip
Office of the Deputy Attorney General
United States Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Judge Filip:

In his confirmation hearings last fall, Judge Mukasey admirably lifted up the finest traditions of the Department of Justice in assuring the United States Senate, and the American people, of his solemn intent to ensure fairness and integrity in the administration of justice. Your own confirmation hearings echoed that bedrock determination to assure that the Department conduct itself with honor and integrity, especially in the enforcement of federal criminal law.

We come to you in that spirit and respectfully ask for a review of the federal involvement in a quintessentially state matter involving our client, Jeffrey Epstein. While we are well aware of the rare instances in which a review of this sort is justified, we are confident that the circumstances at issue warrant such an examination. Based on our collective experiences, as well as those of other former senior Justice Department officials whose advice we have sought, we have never before seen a case more appropriate for oversight and review. Thus, while neither of us has previously made such a request, we do so now in the recognition that both the Department's reputation, as well as the due process rights of our client, are at issue.

Recently, the Criminal Division concluded a very limited review of this matter at the request of U.S. Attorney Alex Acosta. Critically, however, this review deliberately excluded many important aspects of this case. Just this past Friday, on May 16, 2008, we received a letter from the head of CEOS informing us that CEOS had conducted a review of this case. By its own admission, the CEOS review was "limited, both factually and legally." Part of the self-imposed limitation was CEOS's abstention from addressing our "allegations of professional misconduct by federal prosecutors"—even though such misconduct was, as we contend it is, inextricably intertwined with the credibility of the accusations being made against Mr. Epstein by the United States Attorney's Office in Miami ("USAO"). Moreover, CEOS did not assess the terms of the Deferred Prosecution Agreement now in effect, nor did CEOS review the federal prosecutors' inappropriate efforts to implement those terms. We detail this point below.

By way of background, we were informed by Mr. Acosta that, at his request, CEOS would be conducting a review to determine whether federal prosecution was both appropriate and, in his words, "fair." That is not what occurred. Instead, CEOS has now acknowledged that we had raised "many compelling arguments" against the USAO's suggested "novel application" of federal law in this matter. Even so, CEOS concluded, in minimalist fashion, that "we do not see anything that says to us *categorically* that a federal case should not be brought" and that the U.S. Attorney "would not be *abusing his prosecutorial discretion* should he authorize federal prosecution of Mr. Epstein" thus delegating back to Mr. Acosta the decision of whether federal prosecution was warranted (emphasis added). Rather than assessing whether prosecution would be *appropriate*, CEOS, using a low baseline for its evaluation, determined only that "it would not be impossible to prove . . ." certain allegations made against Mr. Epstein. The CEOS review failed to address the significant problems involving the appearance of impermissible selectivity that would necessarily result from a federal prosecution of Mr. Epstein.

We respect CEOS's conclusion that its authority to review "misconduct" issues was precluded by Criminal Division practice. We further respect CEOS's view that it understood its mission as significantly limited. Specifically, the contemplated objective was to determine whether the USAO would be abusing its discretion by bringing a federal prosecution rather than making its own de novo recommendations on the appropriate reach of federal law. However, we respectfully submit that a full review of all the facts is urgently needed at senior levels of the Justice Department. In an effort to inform you of the nature of the federal investigation against Mr. Epstein, we summarize the facts and circumstances of this matter below.

The two base-level concerns we hold are that (1) federal prosecution of this matter is not warranted based on the purely-local conduct and the unprecedented application of federal statutes to facts such as these and (2) the actions of federal authorities are both highly questionable and give rise to an appearance of substantial impropriety. The issues that we have raised, but which have not yet been addressed or resolved by the Department, are more than isolated allegations of professional mistakes or misconduct. These issues, instead, affect the appearance and administration of criminal justice with profound consequences beyond the resolution in the matter at hand.

* * *

In a precedent-shattering investigation of Jeffrey Epstein that raises important policy questions—and serious issues as to the fair and honorable enforcement of federal law—the USAO in Miami is considering extending federal law beyond the bounds of precedent and reason. Federal prosecutors stretched the underlying facts in ways that raise fundamental questions of basic professionalism. Perhaps most troubling, the USAO in Miami, as a condition of deferring prosecution, required a commingling of substantive federal criminal law with a proposed civil remedy engineered in a way that appears intended to profit particular lawyers in private practice in South Florida with personal relationships to some of the prosecutors involved. Federal prosecutors then leaked highly sensitive information about the case to a New York Times reporter.[1] The immediate result of this confluence of extraordinary circumstances is an onslaught of civil lawsuits, all save one brought by the First Assistant's former boutique law firm in Miami.

The facts in this case all revolve around the classic state crime of solicitation of prostitution.[2] The State Attorney's Office in Palm Beach County had conducted a diligent investigation, convened a Grand Jury that returned an indictment, and made a final determination about how to proceed. That is where, in our federal republic, this matter should rest. Mr. Epstein faces a felony conviction in state court by virtue of his conduct, and the only reason the State has not resolved this matter is that the federal prosecutors in Miami have continued to insist that we, Mr. Epstein's counsel, approach and demand from the State Attorney's Office a harsher charge and a more severe punishment than that Office believes are appropriate under the circumstances. Yet despite the USAO's refusal to allow the State to resolve this matter on the terms the State has determined are appropriate, the USAO has not made any attempt to coordinate its efforts with the State. In fact, the USAO mandated that any federal agreement would be conditioned on Mr. Epstein persuading the State to seek a criminal punishment unlike that imposed on other defendants within the jurisdiction of the State Attorney for similar conduct.

From the inception of the USAO's involvement in this case, which at the end of the day is a case about solicitation of prostitution within the confines of Palm Beach County, Florida, we have asked ourselves why the Department of Justice is involved. Regrettably, we are unable to suggest any appropriate basis for the Department's involvement. Mr. Epstein has no criminal history whatsoever. Also, Mr. Epstein has never been the subject of general media interest until a few years ago, after it was widely perceived by the public that he was a close friend of former President Bill Clinton.

The conduct at issue is simply not within the purview of federal jurisdiction and lies outside the heartland of the three federal statutes that have been identified by prosecutors—18 U.S.C. §§ 1591, 2422(b), and 2423(b).

---

[1] One of the other members of Mr. Epstein's defense team, Jay Lefkowitz, has personally reviewed the reporter's contemporaneous notes.

[2] Although some of the women alleged to be involved were 16 and 17 years of age, several of these women openly admitted to lying to Mr. Epstein about their age in their recent sworn statements.

These statutes are intended to target crimes of a truly national and international scope. Specifically, § 1591 was enacted to combat human trafficking, § 2422 is aimed at sexual predation of minors through the Internet, and § 2423 deals with sex tourism. The nature of these crimes results in multi-jurisdictional problems that state and local authorities cannot effectively confront on their own. However, Mr. Epstein's conduct was purely local in nature and, thus, does not implicate federal involvement. After researching every reported case brought under 18 U.S.C. §§ 1591, 2422(b), and 2423(b), we found that not a single case involves facts or a scenario similar to the situation at hand. Our review of each precedent reflects that there have been no reported prosecutions under § 1591 of a 'john' whose conduct with a minor lacked force, coercion, or fraud and who was not profiting from commercial sexual trafficking. There have likewise been no cases under § 2422(b)—a crime of communication—where there was no use of the Internet, and where the content of phone communications did not contain any inducing or enticing of a minor to have illegal sexual activity as expressly required by the language of the statute. Furthermore, the Government's contention that "routine and habit" can fill the factual and legal void created by the lack of evidence that such a communication ever occurred sets this case apart from every reported case brought under § 2422(b). Lastly, there are no reported cases of violations of § 2423(b) of a person whose dominant purpose in traveling was merely to go to his own home.[3]

Although these matters were within the scope of the CEOS review, rather than considering whether federal prosecution is appropriate, CEOS only determined that U.S. Attorney Acosta "would not be abusing his prosecutorial discretion should he authorize federal prosecution" in this case. The "abuse of discretion" standard constitutes an extremely low bar of evaluation and while it may be appropriate when the consideration of issues are exclusively factual in nature, this standard fails to address concerns particular to this situation, namely the "novel application" of federal statutes. The "abuse of discretion" standard in such pure legal matters of statutory application risks causing a lack of uniformity. The same federal statutes that would be stretched beyond their bounds in Miami have been limited to their heartland in each of the other federal districts. Also, because this case implicates broader issues of the administration of equal justice, federal prosecution in this matter risks the appearance of selectivity in its stretching of federal law to fit these facts.

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[3] Federal prosecution of a man who engaged in consensual conduct in his home that amounted to, at most, the solicitation of prostitution, is unprecedented. Since prostitution is fundamentally a state concern, (*see United States v. Evans*, 476 F.3d 1176, n.1 (11th Cir. 2007) (federal law "does not criminalize all acts of prostitution (a vice traditionally governed by state regulation)")), and there is no evidence that Palm Beach County authorities and Florida prosecutors cannot effectively prosecute and punish the conduct, there is no reason why this matter should be extracted from the hands of state prosecutors in Florida.

In fact, recent testimony of several alleged "victims" contradicts claims made by federal prosecutors during the negotiations of a deferred prosecution agreement. The consistent representations of key Government witnesses (such as [redacted]) confirm the following critical points: *First*, there was no communication, telephonic or otherwise, that meets the requirements of § 2422(b). For instance, Ms. [redacted] confirmed that Mr. Epstein never emailed, text-messaged, or used any facility of interstate commerce whatsoever, before or after her one (and only) visit to his home. [redacted] Tr. (deposition) at 30. *Second*, the women who testified admitted that they lied to Mr. Epstein about their age in order to gain admittance into his home. Indeed, the women who brought their underage friends to Mr. Epstein testified that they would counsel their friends to lie about their ages as well. Ms. [redacted] stated the following: "I would tell my girlfriends just like [redacted] approached me. Make sure you tell him you're 18. Well, these girls that I brought, I know that they were 18 or 19 or 20. And the girls that I didn't know and I don't know if they were lying or not, I would say make sure that you tell him you're 18." [redacted] Tr. at 22. *Third*, there was no routine or habit of improper communication expressing an intent to transform a massage into an illegal sexual act. In fact, there was often no sexual activity at all during the massage. Ms. [redacted] testified that "[s]ometimes [Mr. Epstein] just wanted his feet massaged. Sometimes he just wanted a back massage." [redacted] Tr. at 19. [redacted] also stated that Mr. Epstein "never touched [her] physically" and that all she did was "massage[ ] his back, his chest and his thighs and that was it." [redacted] Tr. at 12-13. *Finally*, there was no force, coercion, fraud, violence, drugs, or even alcohol present in connection with Mr. Epstein's encounters with these women. Ms. [redacted] stated that "[Mr. Epstein] never tried to force me to do anything." [redacted] Tr. A at 12. These accounts are far from the usual testimony in sex slavery, Internet stings and sex tourism cases previously brought. The women in actuality were not younger than 16, which is the age of consent in most of the 50 states, and the sex activity was irregular and in large part, consisted of solo self-pleasuring.

The recent crop of civil suits brought against Mr. Epstein confirm that the plaintiffs did not discuss any sexually-related activities with anyone prior to arriving at Mr. Epstein's residence. This reinforces our contention that no telephonic or Internet persuasion, inducement, enticement or coercion of a minor, or of any other individual, occurred. In addition, Mr. Jeffrey Herman, the former law partner of one of the federal prosecutors involved in this matter and the attorney for most of the civil complainants (as described in detail below), was quoted in the Palm Beach *Post* as saying that "it doesn't matter" that his clients lied about their ages and told Mr. Epstein that they were 18 or 19.

Not only is a federal prosecution of this matter unwarranted, but the irregularity of conduct by prosecutors and the unorthodox terms of the deferred prosecution agreement are beyond any reasonable interpretation of the scope of a prosecutor's responsibilities. The list of improprieties includes, but is not limited to, the following facts:

- Federal prosecutors made the unprecedented demand that Mr. Epstein pay a minimum of $150,000 per person to an unnamed list of women they referred to as minors and whom they insisted required representation by a guardian ad litem. Mr. Epstein's counsel later established that all but one of these individuals were actually adults, not minors. Even then, though demanding payment to the women, the USAO eventually asserted that it could not vouch for the veracity of any of the claims that these women might make.

- Federal prosecutors made the highly unusual demand that Mr. Epstein pay the fees of a civil attorney chosen by the prosecutors to represent these alleged "victims" should they choose to bring any civil litigation against him. They also proposed sending a notice to the alleged "victims," stating, in an underlined sentence, that should they choose their own attorney, Mr. Epstein would not be required to pay their fees. The prosecutors further demanded that Mr. Epstein waive his right to challenge any of the allegations made by these "victims."

- The Assistant U.S. Attorney involved in this matter recommended for the civil attorney, a highly lucrative position, an individual that we later discovered was closely and personally connected to the Assistant U.S. Attorney's own boyfriend.

- Federal prosecutors represented to Mr. Epstein's counsel that they had identified (and later rechecked and re-identified) several alleged "victims" of federal crimes that qualified for payment under 18 U.S.C. § 2255, a civil remedy designed to provide financial benefits to victims. Only through state discovery provisions did we later learn that many of the women on the rechecked "victim list" could not possibly qualify under § 2255. The reason is that they, themselves, testified that they did not suffer any type of harm whatsoever, a prerequisite for the civil recovery under § 2255. Moreover, these women stated that they did not, now or in the past, consider themselves to be victims.

- During the last few months, Mr. Herman, First Assistant Sloman's former law partner, has filed several civil lawsuits against Mr. Epstein on behalf of the alleged "victims." It is our understanding that each of Mr. Herman's clients are on the

Government's confidential "list of victims." Most of these lawsuits seek $50 million in money damages.[4]

- Assistant U.S. Attorney David Weinstein spoke about the case in great detail to Landon Thomas, a reporter with the *New York Times*, and revealed confidential information about the Government's allegations against Mr. Epstein. The Assistant U.S. Attorney also revealed the substance of confidential plea negotiations.

- When counsel for Mr. Epstein complained about the media leaks, First Assistant Sloman responded by asserting that "Mr. Thomas was given, pursuant to his request, non-case specific information concerning specific federal statutes." Based on Mr. Thomas' contemporaneous notes, that assertion appears to be false. For example, Mr. Weinstein told Mr. Thomas that federal authorities believed that Mr. Epstein had lured girls over the telephone and traveled in interstate commerce for the purpose of engaging in underage sex. He recounted to Mr. Thomas the USAO's theory of prosecution against Mr. Epstein, replete with an analysis of the key statutes being considered. Furthermore, after Mr. Epstein's defense team complained about the leak to the USAO, Mr. Weinstein, in Mr. Thomas' own description, then admonished him for talking to the defense, and getting him in trouble. Mr. Weinstein further told him not to believe the "spin" of Mr. Epstein's "high-priced attorneys," and then, according to Mr. Thomas, Mr. Weinstein forcefully "reminded" Mr. Thomas that all prior conversations were merely hypothetical.

We are constrained to conclude that the actions of federal officials in this case strike at the heart of one of the vitally important, enduring values in this country: the honest enforcement of federal law, free of political considerations and free of the taint of personal financial motivations on the part of federal prosecutors that, at a minimum, raise the appearance of serious impropriety.

We were told by U.S. Attorney Acosta that as part of the review he requested, the Department had the authority, and his consent, to make any determination it deemed appropriate regarding this matter, including a decision to decline federal prosecution. Yet, CEOS's only conclusion, based on its limited review of the investigation, is that U.S. Attorney Acosta would not abuse his discretion by proceeding against Mr. Epstein. Thus, the decision of whether prosecution *is fair and appropriate* has been placed, once again, in U.S. Attorney Acosta's hands.

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[4] As recently as two months ago, Mr. Sloman was still listed publicly as a part of his former law firm. While we assume this was an oversight, Mr. Sloman's identification as part of the firm raises the appearance of impropriety.

In light of the foregoing, we respectfully ask that you review this matter and discontinue all federal involvement so that the State can appropriately bring this matter to closure. We would greatly appreciate the opportunity to meet with you to discuss these important issues. Such a meeting would provide the Department with an opportunity to review the paramount issues of federalism and the appearance of selectivity that are generated by the unprecedented attempts to broaden the ambit of federal statutes to places that they have never before reached. We sincerely appreciate your attention to this matter.

Respectfully submitted,

Kenneth W. Starr

Kenneth W. Starr
Kirkland & Ellis LLP

Joe Whitley

Joe D. Whitley
Alston & Bird LLP

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# KIRKLAND & ELLIS LLP

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| ***From:*** | ***Date:*** | ***Pages w/cover:*** | ***Fax #:*** | ***Direct #:*** |
| Kenneth W. Starr | May 19, 2008 | 9 | [redacted] | |

***Message:***

June 2017

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# Breaking Down Democracy: Goals, Strategies, and Methods of Modern Authoritarians

by Arch Puddington

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## ON THE COVER

Chinese President Xi Jinping and Russian President Vladimir Putin in Beijing, 2016. *Lintao Zhang/Getty Images*

Executive Summary

# Breaking Down Democracy: Goals, Strategies, and Methods of Modern Authoritarians

by Arch Puddington

The 21st century has been marked by a resurgence of authoritarian rule that has proved resilient despite economic fragility and occasional popular resistance. Modern authoritarianism has succeeded, where previous totalitarian systems failed, due to refined and nuanced strategies of repression, the exploitation of open societies, and the spread of illiberal policies in democratic countries themselves. The leaders of today's authoritarian systems devote full-time attention to the challenge of crippling the opposition without annihilating it, and flouting the rule of law while maintaining a plausible veneer of order, legitimacy, and prosperity.

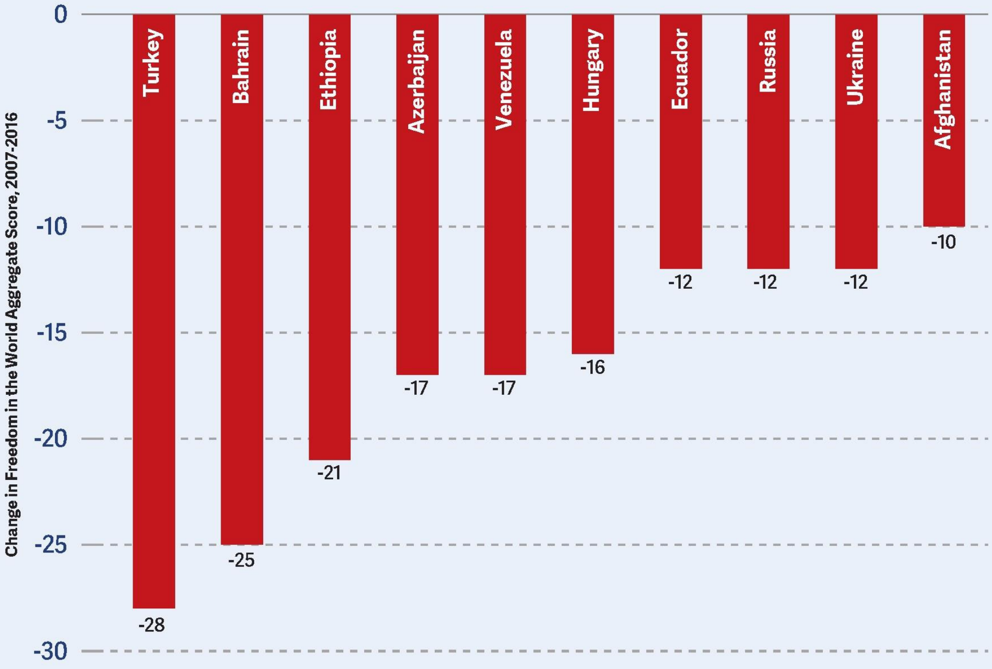
Central to the modern authoritarian strategy is the capture of institutions that undergird political pluralism. The goal is to dominate not only the executive and legislative branches, but also the media, the judiciary, civil society, the commanding heights of the economy, and the security forces. With these institutions under the effective if not absolute control of an incumbent leader, changes in government through fair and honest elections become all but impossible.

Unlike Soviet-style communism, modern authoritarianism is not animated by an overarching ideology or the messianic notion of an ideal future society. Nor do today's autocrats seek totalitarian control over people's everyday lives, movements, or thoughts. The media are more diverse and entertaining under modern authoritarianism, civil society can enjoy an independent existence (as long as it does not pursue political change), citizens can travel around the country or abroad with only occasional interference, and private enterprise can flourish (albeit with rampant corruption and cronyism).

This study explains how modern authoritarianism defends and propagates itself, as regimes from different regions and with diverse socioeconomic foundations copy and borrow techniques of political control. Among its major findings:

- Russia, under President Vladimir Putin, has played an outsized role in the development of modern authoritarian systems. This is particularly true in the areas of media control, propaganda, the smothering of civil society, and the

**MAJOR DECLINES FOR INFLUENTIAL COUNTRIES OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS**



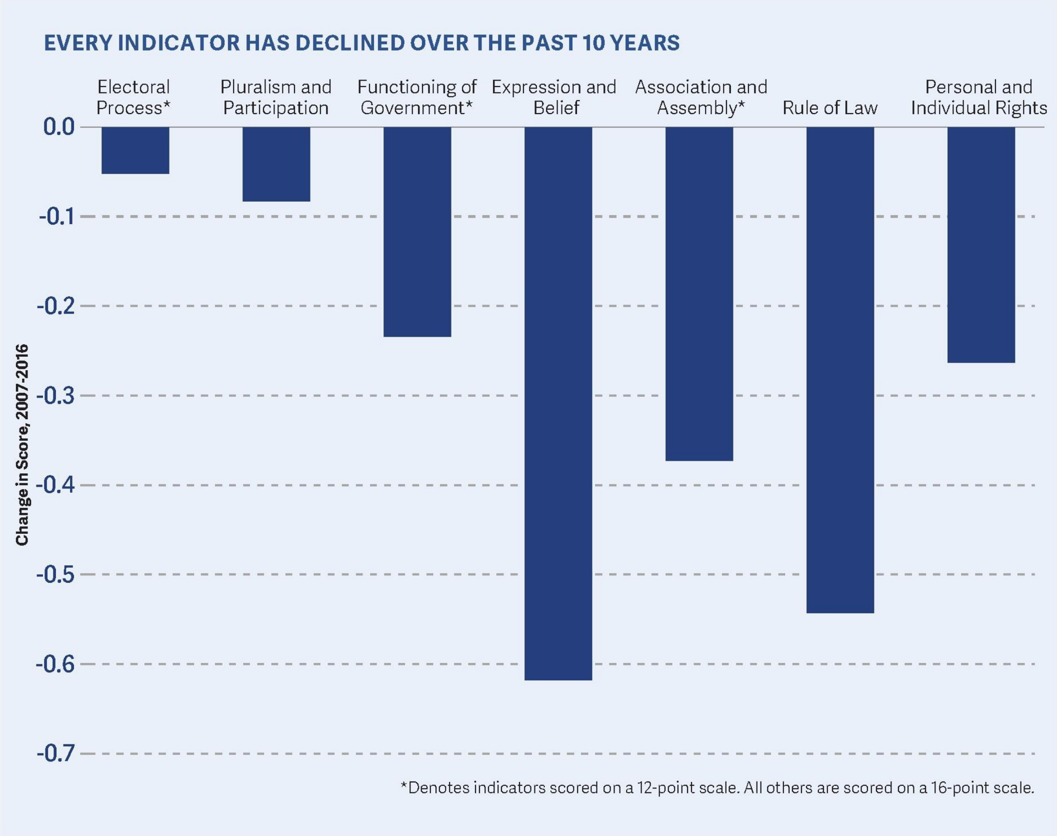
weakening of political pluralism. Russia has also moved aggressively against neighboring states where democratic institutions have emerged or where democratic movements have succeeded in ousting corrupt authoritarian leaders.

- The rewriting of history for political purposes is common among modern authoritarians. Again, Russia has taken the lead, with the state's assertion of authority over history textbooks and the process, encouraged by Putin, of reassessing the historical role of Joseph Stalin.

- The hiring of political consultants and lobbyists from democratic countries to represent the interests of autocracies is a growing phenomenon. China is clearly in the vanguard, with multiple representatives working for the state and for large economic entities closely tied to the state. But there are also K Street representatives for Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Ethiopia, and practically all of the authoritarian states in the Middle East.

- The toxic combination of unfair elections and crude majoritarianism is spreading from modern authoritarian regimes to illiberal leaders in what are still partly democratic countries. Increasingly, populist politicians—once in office—claim the right to suppress the media, civil society, and other democratic institutions by citing support from a majority of voters. The resulting changes make it more difficult for the opposition to compete in future elections and can pave the way for a new authoritarian regime.

- An expanding cadre of politicians in democracies are eager to emulate or cooperate with authoritarian rulers. European parties of the nationalistic right and anticapitalist left have expressed admiration for Putin and aligned their policy goals with his. Others have praised



EVERY INDICATOR HAS DECLINED OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS

*Denotes indicators scored on a 12-point scale. All others are scored on a 16-point scale.

illiberal governments in countries like Hungary for their rejection of international democratic standards in favor of perceived national interests. Even when there is no direct collaboration, such behavior benefits authoritarian powers by breaking down the unity and solidarity of the democratic world.

- There has been a rise in authoritarian internationalism. Authoritarian powers form loose but effective alliances to block criticism at the United Nations and regional organizations like the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Organization of American States, and to defend embattled allies like Syria's Bashar al-Assad. There is also growing replication of what might be called authoritarian best practices, vividly on display in the new Chinese law on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and efforts by Russia and others to learn from China's experience in internet censorship.

- Modern authoritarians are working to revalidate the concept of the leader-for-life. One of the seeming gains of the postcommunist era was the understanding that some form of term limits should be imposed to prevent incumbents from consolidating power into a dictatorship. In recent years, however, a number of countries have adjusted their constitutions to ease, eliminate, or circumvent executive term limits. The result has been a resurgence of potential leaders-for-life from Latin America to Eurasia.

- While more subtle and calibrated methods of repression are the defining feature of modern authoritarianism, the past few years have featured a reemergence of older tactics that undermine the illusions of pluralism and openness as well as integration with the global economy. Thus Moscow has pursued its military intervention in Ukraine despite economic sanctions and overseen the assassination of opposition figures;

Beijing has revived the practice of coerced public "confessions" and escalated its surveillance of the Tibetan and Uighur minorities to totalitarian levels; and Azerbaijan has made the Aliyev family's monopoly on political power painfully obvious with the appointment of the president's wife as "first vice president."

- Modern authoritarian systems are employing these blunter methods in a context of increased economic fragility. Venezuela is already in the process of political and economic disintegration. Other states that rely on energy exports have also experienced setbacks due to low oil and gas prices, and China faces rising debt and slower growth after years of misallocated investment and other structural problems. But these regimes also face less international pressure to observe democratic norms, raising their chances of either surviving the current crises or—if they break down—giving way to something even worse.

In subsequent sections, this report will examine the methods employed by authoritarian powers to neutralize precisely those institutions that were thought to be the most potent weapons against a revitalized authoritarianism. The success of the Russian and Chinese regimes in bringing to heel and even harnessing the forces produced by globalization—digital media, civil society, free markets—may be their most impressive and troubling achievement.

Modern authoritarianism is particularly insidious in its exploitation of open societies. Russia and China have both taken advantage of democracies' commitment to freedom of expression and delivered infusions of propaganda and disinformation. Moscow has effectively prevented foreign broadcasting stations from reaching Russian audiences even as it steadily expands the reach of its own mouthpieces, the television channel RT and the news service Sputnik. China blocks the websites of mainstream foreign media while encouraging its corporations to purchase influence in popular culture abroad through control of Hollywood studios. Similar combinations of obstruction at home and interference abroad can be seen in sectors including civil society, academia, and party politics.

The report draws on examples from a broad group of authoritarian states and illiberal democracies, but the focus remains on the two leading authoritarian powers, China and Russia. Much of the report, in fact, deals with Russia, since that country, more than any other, has incubated and refined the ideas and institutions at the foundation of 21st-century authoritarianism.

Finally, a basic assumption behind the report is that modern authoritarianism will be a lasting feature of geopolitics. Since 2012, both Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping have doubled down on existing efforts to stamp out internal dissent, and both have grown more aggressive on the world stage. All despotic regimes have inherent weaknesses that leave them vulnerable to sudden shocks and individually prone to collapse. However, the past quarter-century has shown that dictatorship in general will not disappear on its own. Authoritarian systems will seek not just to survive, but to weaken and defeat democracy around the world.

## Introduction

# Modern Authoritarianism: Origins, Anatomy, Outlook

As the world's democracies confront a dangerous internal challenge from populist and nationalist political forces, it is imperative that they recognize the simultaneous external threat presented by modern authoritarian regimes. These 21st century authoritarians developed an arsenal of new tactics to use against their domestic opponents, and gone on the offensive in an effort to subvert and replace the liberal international order.

But modern authoritarian systems are not simply adversaries of free societies. They also represent an alternative model—a grim future for beleaguered democracies that have already fallen under the sway of illiberal leaders and have suffered an erosion of freedom.

### Democracy under siege

Global democracy is currently facing the repercussions of what has been called the "decade of decline." The phrase describes a 10-year-plus period, from 2006 to 2016, during which the state of freedom experienced more reversals than gains as measured by *Freedom in the World*, the annual report on political rights and civil liberties published by Freedom House.[1]

According to *Freedom in the World*, the crucial indicators of democracy experienced setbacks in each of the 10 years in question. In all, 105 countries suffered net declines, while 61 showed some measure of improvement. The decade marked the longest democratic slump of its kind in more than 40 years of Freedom House analysis.[2]

The decade of decline has been principally characterized by a steady erosion of political institutions in established authoritarian countries, or in countries that were clearly headed in that direction. In other words, repressive countries became even more repressive—the bad became even worse.[3]

However, a parallel pattern of institutional erosion has affected some more democratic states, pushing them into the category of "illiberal democracies." In these societies, elections are regularly conducted, sometimes under conditions that are reasonably fair. But the state, usually under the control of a strong party or leader, applies much of its energy to the systematic weakening of political pluralism and the creation of a skewed electoral playing field. Opposition parties are often impotent, freedom of the press is circumscribed, and the judiciary tends to be dominated by the ruling party. Countries that fit this description include Hungary, Bolivia, Ecuador, and, if recent trends continue, Poland.

There are many reasons for the global decline in democratic indicators, but the statistical evidence from *Freedom in the World* suggests that modern authoritarian regimes have found a way to survive without resorting to democratic reforms, and that a number of democracies—as part of the general loss of liberal consensus—are engaging in their own antidemocratic experiments.

### Modern authoritarianism

The traditional authoritarian state sought monopolistic control over political life, a one-party system organized around a strongman or military junta, and direct rule by the executive, sometimes through martial law, with little or no role for the parliament.

Traditional dictatorships and totalitarian regimes were often defined by closed, command, or autarkic economies, a state media monopoly with formal censorship, and "civil society" organizations that were structured as appendages of the ruling party or state. Especially in military dictatorships, the use of force—including military tribunals, curfews, arbitrary arrests, political detentions, and summary executions—was pervasive. Often facing international isolation, traditional dictatorships and totalitarian regimes forged alliances based on common ideologies, whether faith in Marxist revolution or ultraconservative, anticommunist reaction.

As the 20th century drew to a close, the weaknesses of both communist systems and traditional dictatorships became increasingly apparent. Front and center was the growing economic gap between countries that had opted for market economies and regimes that were committed to statist economies.

The political and economic barriers that had long sheltered the old dictatorships were soon swept away, and those that survived or recovered did so by making a series of strategic concessions to the new global order.

Modern authoritarianism has a different set of defining features:

- An illusion of pluralism that masks state control over key political institutions, with co-opted or otherwise defanged opposition parties allowed to participate in regular elections
- State or oligarchic control over key elements of the national economy, which is otherwise open to the global economy and private investment, to ensure loyalty to the regime and bolster regime claims of legitimacy based on economic prosperity
- State or oligarchic control over information on certain political subjects and key sectors of the media, which are otherwise pluralistic, with high production values and entertaining content; independent outlets survive with small audiences and little influence
- Suppression of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that are focused on human rights or political reform, but state tolerance or support for progovernment or apolitical groups that work on public health, education, and other development issues
- Legalized political repression, with targets punished through vaguely worded laws and politically obedient courts
- Limited, selective, and typically hidden use of extralegal force or violence, with a concentration on political dissidents, critical journalists, and officials who have fallen from favor
- Opportunistic, non-ideological cooperation with fellow authoritarian states against pressure for democratic reform or leadership changes, international human rights norms and mechanisms, and international security or justice interventions
- Knowledge-sharing with or emulation of fellow authoritarian states regarding tactics and legislation to enhance domestic control

### China and Russia

The two major modern authoritarian powers are China and Russia.

Until fairly recently, the conventional wisdom was that China's one-party authoritarian system would gradually relax as the middle class expanded and the country became fully integrated into the global economic and diplomatic systems. The leadership did expand citizens' freedom to travel, make money, and access information and entertainment that did not touch on sensitive subjects. But it has resolutely refused to give up control over the political sphere.

In fact, the state has become increasingly aggressive in its suppression of political dissent and information that might challenge the Communist Party narrative. The regime's rhetoric and policies have become more hostile to democracy and "Western" values. Its propaganda asserts the superior efficiency of the one-party system and sneers at the messiness of democracy. And the focus of its repressive apparatus has steadily expanded from a relatively narrow segment of political opposition figures to encompass a broad collection of target groups, including human rights lawyers, ethnic minorities, Christians, women's rights advocates, liberal academics, and independent journalists.

Russia is much smaller than China in terms of population and economic might, but it has emerged as a leader of modern authoritarian innovation. Under Vladimir Putin, the Russian regime pioneered the capture of the media through state enterprises and oligarchic cronies, the adoption of laws designed to dismember civil society, the use of the judiciary as an instrument of political harassment, and, perhaps most importantly of all, the development of modern propaganda and disinformation.

Russia has also been in the vanguard of a relentless campaign against liberal values, and has moved relentlessly to export authoritarian ideas and techniques to other societies, both in neighboring

Eurasian countries and elsewhere in the world. While today there is nothing that resembles the Comintern of Soviet times, authoritarian countries have developed an ad hoc network of cooperation that has proven effective at the United Nations and in regional bodies like the Organization of American States.

### Adapting to survive

Modern authoritarianism matured as regimes sought to defend themselves against the sorts of civil society movements that triggered "color revolutions" in Georgia, Ukraine, and elsewhere in the early 2000s. On their own, formal opposition parties were relatively easy to marginalize or co-opt, and traditional mass media could be brought to heel through pressure on private owners, among other techniques. But civil society organizations presented a formidable challenge in some settings, as they were able to mobilize the public—especially students and young people—around nonpartisan reformist goals and use relatively open online media to spread their messages.

It is now a major objective of modern authoritarian states to suppress civil society before it becomes strong enough to challenge the incumbent political leadership. Yet whereas dissidents were dispatched to the gulag or explicitly exiled by the Soviets, or jailed and murdered by traditional dictatorships like Augusto Pinochet's Chile, today's activists are checked by NGO regulations that control registration and foreign funding, laws that allow arbitrary restrictions on public protest, and trumped-up criminal charges for key organizers that serve to intimidate others.

Modern authoritarianism has also devised special methods to bring the internet under political control without shutting it down entirely. While old-style dictatorships like Cuba long prevented the widespread use of the internet out of fear that online communications would pose a threat to the state's monopoly on information, modern authoritarians understood that a high rate of internet penetration is essential to participation in the global economy. However, once online media emerged as a real alternative to traditional news sources and a crucial tool for civic and political mobilization, these regimes began to step up their interference.

The Chinese government has developed the world's most sophisticated system of internet controls. Its so-called Great Firewall, a censorship and filtering apparatus designed to prevent the circulation of information that the authorities deem politically dangerous without affecting nonsensitive information, requires tremendous financial, human, and technological resources to maintain. Other regimes have not attempted anything approaching the scale of China's system, but some have constructed more limited versions or simply relied on inexpensive offline techniques like arrests of critical bloggers, direct pressure on the owners of major online platforms, and new laws that force internet sites to self-censor.

### Alternative values

While modern authoritarians initially mobilized for defensive purposes, to thwart color revolutions or the liberal opposition, they have become increasingly aggressive in challenging the democratic norms that prevailed in the wake of the Cold War, and in setting forth a rough set of political values as an alternative to the liberal model. Examples of this phenomenon include:

1. **Majoritarianism:** A signal idea of many authoritarians is the proposition that elections are winner-take-all affairs in which the victor has an absolute mandate, with little or no interference from institutional checks and balances. Putin, Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and the Venezuelan chavista leadership all behave as if there are no valid controls on their authority, the opposition has no rights, and the system is theirs to dismantle and remake from top to bottom. Disturbingly, the leaders of some democratic societies have begun to embrace the majoritarian idea. The Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán, has instituted a thorough overhaul of the country's constitution and national legislation with an eye toward measures that will insulate his party from future defeat.

2. **Sovereignty:** A number of governments have invoked the doctrine of absolute sovereignty to rebuff international criticism of restrictions on the press, the smothering of civil society, the persecution of the political opposition, and the repression of minority groups. They claim that the enforcement of universal human rights standards or judgments from transnational legal bodies represent undue interference in their domestic affairs and a violation of national prerogatives.

3. **Dictatorship of law:** Initially articulated by Vladimir Putin, this phrase has come to signify the adoption of laws that are so vaguely written as to

give the authorities wide discretion in applying them to regime opponents. Such measures are typically paired with a court system that uses law merely to justify political instructions from the executive branch, making a mockery of due process and international conceptions of the rule of law.

4. **History revised:** A number of countries have undertaken a refashioning of history to buttress the legitimacy and aims of the current government. Historians and journalists are forbidden to cross certain redlines set by the authorities. In China, the state has prevented the publication of full, accurate, or critical accounts of the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, or the Mao Zedong era in general. In Russia, Joseph Stalin has been rehabilitated. He is now officially portrayed as a strong if mildly flawed leader rather than as the man responsible for the deaths of millions of his own people. In Turkey, Erdoğan has decreed that high school students should study the defunct Ottoman language, challenging a nearly century-old reform linked to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, modern Turkey's founder.[4]

5. **Democracy redefined:** It is a testament to the power of the democratic idea that authoritarian leaders around the globe have claimed the mantle of democracy for forms of government that amount to legalized repression. Even as they heap disdain on the liberal order, they have often insisted on the validity of their own systems as types of democratic rule. They even devise terms to describe their special variant, such as "sovereign democracy," "revolutionary democracy," or "illiberal democracy."

6. **Return of the leader for life:** Among the changes invariably instituted by modern authoritarians is the de facto or de jure removal of constitutional limits on presidential terms. Preventing the concentration of power in a single leader is a fundamental goal of democratic governance, but authoritarian propaganda has presented term limits as artificial constraints, associated them with foreign origins, and claimed that they do not suit every country's unique historical, cultural, or security conditions.

While these ideas may not amount to a coherent or complete ideology, they do form the basis for an impressive degree of collaboration and alliance-building that has brought together modern authoritarian regimes with significantly different economic systems, official creeds, and sources of political legitimacy.

A loose-knit league of authoritarians works to protect mutual interests at the United Nations and other international forums, subverting global human rights standards and blocking precedent-setting actions against fellow despots. With the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Russia, China, and a number of Central Asian governments have come together to discuss common regime-security strategies.[5]

More disturbingly, modern authoritarians collaborate to prop up some of the world's most reprehensible regimes, apparently reasoning that the toppling of one dictator thins the herd, inspires imitation, and endangers them all. This is most visible in Syria, where Russia, China, Iran, and Venezuela at various times have offered diplomatic support, loans, fuel, or direct military aid to the regime of Bashar al-Assad.

## Dashed hopes

Democracy recorded unprecedented gains during the 20th century's last decades. In 1975, Freedom House found that just 25 percent of the world's sovereign states qualified for the Free category; by 2000, the share of countries rated as Free had reached 45 percent.[6]

The numbers told an optimistic story, and a series of accelerating social trends suggested that the recent improvements would hold firm and expand as the new millennium dawned.

There was, to begin with, a strong identification of free societies with free markets. The degree of economic freedom varied from one society to the next, and corruption was a problem in practically all of the new democracies. But there was no longer a major bloc of countries that rejected capitalism, and practically every country sought to deepen their participation in the global economic system, as witnessed by the number of governments seeking admission to the World Trade Organization. Authorities in the United States and elsewhere predicted that as countries came to accept the rules of the game set down by the WTO, they would also be more amenable to accepting the norms of liberal democracy, including fair elections, freedom of expression, minority rights, and the rule of law.

A second development was the introduction of the internet and other digital media. In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, communist governments in

Eastern Europe, and military dictatorships elsewhere, there was an explosion of newspapers, radio and television stations, and other independent media with diverse editorial policies. But the internet in particular was seen as an irresistible force that could render censorship of any kind impossible. In 2000, President Bill Clinton compared China's efforts to control internet content to "trying to nail Jell-O to the wall."[7]

Third, a growing number of experts began to identify a new instigator of democratic change in global civil society. Unlike the "people's movements" of earlier decades, in which well-known leaders mobilized mass demonstrations and often insurrectionary violence with the goal of overthrowing despotic regimes, the phenomenon that was labeled civil society consisted of organizations that were often committed to a single cause or a few causes united by a particular theme. Most activists were young, with little prior involvement in politics, and many regarded themselves as part of a global effort to advance goals like reducing carbon emissions, empowering women, or fighting corruption.

In a prescient 1997 article, Jessica T. Mathews predicted that in the future global civil society would be the triggering force behind liberal change.[8] She suggested that in many cases civil society organizations would play a more important role than governments. Her words seemed prescient in light of later events in Serbia, where student activists organized a campaign that eventually brought about the downfall of President Slobodan Milošević in 2000, and in Ukraine, where young reformers played a pivotal role in ensuring that the 2004 elections were not stolen through fraud.

In declaring that dictatorships or even authoritarian methods were destined to succumb to this triad of new social forces, commentators were also expressing optimism about the universal appeal of liberal values. The decade after the end of the Cold War was a heyday for democratic ideas and norms. It was increasingly expected that countries would not only hold elections, but that their elections would meet international standards and be judged "free and fair." There was also an expectation that political parties would be able to compete on a reasonably level playing field, that opposition leaders would not be harassed or arrested, and that minorities would be able to pursue their agendas through normal political channels and not find it necessary to wage perpetual protest campaigns.

However, there were nagging questions. It remained unclear whether most societies would have access to multiple sources of political ideas, multiple interpretations of the news, and open scholarly inquiries about the past. Would there be honest judicial proceedings, especially in cases with political implications? Would property rights be secure?

Beyond these primarily domestic issues, there was another series of questions related to individual governments' relations with their neighbors and the rest of the world. The end of the Cold War had brought a peace dividend, both financial and psychological, for all sides. At the time, most assumed that peace would prove durable. But would the general decline in military budgets hold? Would the new national boundaries that divided the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia be sustainable?

As modern authoritarianism has taken root and expanded its influence, the answers to these questions are increasingly negative.

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## Chapter 1

# Validating Autocracy through the Ballot

A major difference between modern authoritarian systems and traditional dictatorships lies in the role of elections for parliament and head of state.

Twentieth-century dictatorships often dispensed with elections entirely or conducted them under blatantly fraudulent conditions. In the Soviet bloc, elections were a pointless ritual in which citizens were pressured to go to a polling place and cast ballots for the Communist Party candidate, the only one permitted to compete. Military and postcolonial dictatorships often canceled elections on spurious "national emergency" grounds, or rigged the outcome through crude ballot-stuffing and open intimidation.

At a certain point in the 1980s, however, the strongmen, juntas, and revolutionary councils of the era realized that reasonably fair elections could no longer be avoided. Sometimes a ruling group understood that this would likely lead to an opposition victory. But usually, the incumbent leaders—and often foreign journalists and diplomats—presumed that voters in repressive settings preferred stability to uncertainty and would opt for the reassuring faces of authority.

These calculations proved wildly misplaced. Opposition parties swept to victory in country after country—in Uruguay, Argentina, Nicaragua, South Korea, the Philippines, Poland. The word "stunning" made a frequent appearance in news accounts, as in the stunning rejection of the ruling party in Poland, or the stunning setback suffered by Chile's Augusto Pinochet in a referendum on the continuation of his dictatorship. Or, perhaps most astonishing, the stunning defeat of Communist Party stalwarts in a number of Soviet cities in 1990 local elections.[1]

Elections became a key force behind the wave of democratization that engulfed much of the world during that decade. Today, the obligation to hold some form of multiparty balloting is felt by nearly all governments.

### The illusion of pluralism

Yet just as with other democratic institutions, modern authoritarians have mastered the techniques of control over the electoral process, maintaining political dominance behind a screen of false diversity.

They have adapted in many ways to the age of the internet and the expectations of a better-informed public. In the most sophisticated authoritarian states, professional political operatives—in Russia they are called "political technologists"—work just as hard as their counterparts in the United States. Their goal, however, is not to defeat opposition candidates in a competitive setting, but rather to organize a system that creates the illusion of competition while squelching it in reality.

> "We're not perfect. But we do have democracy."
>
> **—Hugo Chávez**
>
> "Yes, we falsified the last election.... In fact, 93.5 percent [of ballots were] for President Lukashenka. People say this is not a European result, so we changed it to 86 percent."
>
> **—Alyaksandr Lukashenka**

In most countries, elections are largely "free and fair," meaning the playing field is reasonably level, there is an honest tabulation of the ballots, vote buying and ballot stuffing do not change the outcome, and independent election observers are allowed to monitor the proceedings. For 2015, *Freedom in the World* placed the number of electoral democracies at 125, around 64 percent of the world's sovereign states.[2] By historical standards, this is an impressive figure. Still, there are 70 countries that do not qualify as electoral democracies. In all but a few of these settings, elections are indeed held, but they are either badly flawed or patently dishonest.

Yet even in systems where elections are tainted or fixed outright, authoritarian leaders often claim legitimacy from the ballot box. Of the countries assessed in this study, only China rejects elections as part of the leadership's strategy for political control. In Russia, Turkey, Venezuela, and elsewhere, the leadership invokes victory at the polls as a mandate for government, including the adoption of policies that are in fact deeply unpopular.

In some authoritarian states, elections are neither free nor fair, with heavy manipulation that directly ensures the ruling party's dominance. But in other settings, elections are held under conditions that are relatively free but effectively unfair. That is, the electoral playing field is tilted to favor the incumbents, though the balloting itself is not fixed and remains somewhat unpredictable. In illiberal environments like Hungary and Turkey over the past five years, prospects for an opposition victory are remote, but not out of the question. Even in a quasi-dictatorship like Venezuela, the opposition can score impressive victories in parliamentary elections and mobilize competitive campaigns for the presidency.

### A display of supremacy

In December 2011, members of the Russian opposition obtained video evidence of ballot stuffing committed by operatives from Vladimir Putin's United Russia party in that month's parliamentary elections. A series of unusually large protests ensued. Putin weathered the furor and went on to win a presidential poll the following year. But for a brief period, Putin lost control of Russia's political narrative and was placed on the defensive. He seemed angry and rattled, and subsequently blamed the turmoil on the United States, claiming that statements by then secretary of state Hillary Clinton were meant as a signal to the opposition to launch a color revolution in Russia. (The theme of Clinton as the puppet master behind a plot aimed at regime change in Russia was revived during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, when the Russian media displayed a clear preference for Republican candidate Donald Trump and disdain for Clinton.[3])

For Putin, the events of late 2011 and early 2012 were evidence of weakness and political incompetence. A ruling party whose triumph requires that party members be ferried by bus from one voting district to another to cast multiple ballots is, by today's authoritarian standards, a party that has grown careless and lazy. Authoritarian rulers today seek to fix outcomes well before election day through laws and policies that embed unfairness at every level.

These leaders take a measure of pride in election victories, even if the results were secured through dishonest methods. They are held up as demonstrations of political mastery rather than neutral measurements of public preference. Putin's victories at the polls enable him to reject comparisons with Leonid Brezhnev and other doddering, defensive Soviet-era leaders. Likewise, Hugo Chávez boasted that unlike the colonels and generals who ruled over South American dictatorships during the 20th century, his tenure as president of Venezuela was sanctified by no fewer than 17 elections, including a number of referendums. Chávez won all but one.[4]

There are, of course, examples of elections whose outcome resembles the obviously rigged results in totalitarian or junta-like settings. Eurasian presidents such as Azerbaijan's Ilham Aliyev and Belarus's Alyaksandr Lukashenka have repeatedly won elections with over 80 percent of the vote, and others have easily broken the 90 percent barrier. The ruling Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) won every seat in the most recent parliamentary polling.[5]

However, more sophisticated autocracies try to manage elections so as to maintain a pluralist façade and hide evidence of systematic fraud or intimidation. In Russia, nominal opposition parties usually garner a significant share of parliamentary seats. But all defer to Putin as the country's unchallenged leader and typically vote according to his wishes on key issues.[6] Genuine opposition forces that seek to win political power are not tolerated, particularly if they champion liberal values. Putin has long sought to prevent the rise of a democratic opposition that could raise embarrassing questions about systemic corruption, foreign interventions, or economic stagnation.

### State media and state resources

Predetermining ballot results depends both on the rules and regulations that govern the administration of elections and on the regime's control of other assets that can influence the outcome.

Control of the media is crucial. The methods of modern censorship are examined in more detail in another section of this report. But when a would-be authoritarian leader assumes power, one of the first goals is to secure domination over whichever sector of the media has the greatest impact on public opinion and therefore on voting behavior.

The first clear indicator of Putin's authoritarian bent was his aggressive move to eliminate independent ownership of Russia's major television stations. Through various forms of intimidation, the new president persuaded private media moguls to surrender ownership to the state, state-owned corporations, or political cronies. Television thus became a propaganda vehicle for Putin and a potent weapon against his critics, who have since been mocked, vilified, or ignored on the nation's most important medium. All this occurred within a few years after his election as president in 2000.

In Venezuela, Chávez used his authority over media licensing to destroy Radio Caracas Television (RCTV), a popular broadcast station that was aligned with the opposition. Other critical voices in television and print media later faced legal suits, regulatory harassment, and withdrawal of advertising revenue until the owners agreed to sell their holdings to business interests that were on more friendly terms with the regime.[7]

A prominent theme that runs through authoritarian media is the imperfect nature of electoral processes in the leading democracies, especially the United States. The goal is less to portray elections in Russia, Venezuela, or Iran as paragons of democratic practice than to muddy the waters—to make the case that countries like the United States have no right to lecture others on democracy, and that perhaps all elections are equally flawed. The Kremlin's chief propagandist described the 2016 U.S. election as "so horribly noxious that it only engenders disgust towards what is still inexplicably called a 'democracy.'"[8]

A second important instrument in authoritarians' election toolbox is the state itself. During his period as Venezuela's president, Chávez became a master at using state money and manpower to ensure voter loyalty. In the 2012 election, the last before his death, Chávez is estimated to have invested billions of dollars in state resources, including giveaways of household goods to ordinary citizens, in a rather unsubtle vote-buying campaign.

That election vividly illustrated the powerful interplay of state media and state resources in undemocratic settings, and it is worth examining in greater detail. Superficially, it seemed reasonably consistent with democratic standards. The voting itself took place without serious violence or major complaints of irregularities. But to a substantial degree, the results were shaped by the regime's actions well before the ballots were cast.

Chávez had by that time secured an iron grip on the media. Through the state or political allies, he controlled six of the eight national television stations and about half of the country's radio stations. In some regions, he commanded a virtual information monopoly. The opposition was effectively shut out of the Chávez-aligned outlets, earning mention only as cartoonish villains.

The incumbent benefited especially from a practice whereby all radio and television stations are obliged to preempt normal programming to accommodate the president's speeches to the nation. During 2012, Chávez took advantage of this tool to fill 100 hours of broadcasting, 47 of them in the 90 days prior to the election. Aurelio Concheso, an analyst with Transparency Venezuela, placed the value of this free airtime at $1.8 billion. Another government mandate required radio and television stations to broadcast 10 state messages of 30 seconds each on a daily basis; the messages, not surprisingly, dovetailed with the arguments of the Chávez campaign. Concheso estimated the value of this free airtime at $292 million. In addition, the government spent an estimated $200 million on advertising with private radio and television stations. By contrast, the opposition had access to five minutes of airtime a day, at a cost of $102 million. The opposition was thus limited to an incredible 4 percent of the airtime enjoyed by Chávez.

Meanwhile, according to Concheso, the state oil company spent some $20 billion on gifts of home durable goods, apartments, and outright cash subsidies to purchase the allegiance of Venezuelan voters and underscore the message that without Chávez, this largesse would dry up.

Finally, a measure of fear was introduced through a campaign suggesting that although the balloting was secret, the government had ways of ascertaining a voter's choice. The threat had a special effect given public memories of an episode in 2004, in which those who signed a petition for a referendum to remove Chávez from office were blacklisted and excluded from government jobs, benefits, and contracts.

### Favored tactics

The following are among the other tactics deployed by modern authoritarians to ensure success at the polls:

1. **Intimidating the opposition:** Opposition leaders are only occasionally targeted for assassination. But they can face a variety of other cruel fates. Wealthy businessman and opposition supporter Mikhail Khodorkovsky was dispatched to a Russian prison for 10 years for daring to challenge Putin. In 2017, anticorruption campaigner Andrei Navalny, widely regarded as the most serious challenger to Putin, was effectively eliminated from the 2018 presidential contest after being convicted in a trumped-up embezzlement case.[9] In Malaysia, opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim has twice been convicted and jailed on sodomy charges. Prominent political figures have also been jailed in Belarus, Venezuela, Iran, Ethiopia, Turkey, and Egypt, among many others. Human rights activists and bloggers are also subject to harassment and persecution. They are frequently jailed on trumped-up charges of defamation, tax fraud, or drug trafficking, among others.

2. **Marginalizing the opposition:** As noted above, authoritarian leaders use their media power to paint critics as knaves or buffoons. Especially through television coverage, opposition figures are presented as clownish, effeminate, shady, elitist, or enslaved by foreign interests. The message is pounded home day after day, until the image of the opposition as small and unfit to rule is fixed in the public's mind.

3. **Tolerating the pseudo-opposition:** Having jailed, exiled, or silenced potentially competitive opposition figures, authoritarians tolerate nominal opposition parties that are effectively controlled by the regime. These groups have accepted the supremacy of the incumbent leadership and settled into their roles in a stage-managed democracy.

4. **Criminalizing protest:** The crippling of formal opposition parties leads many voters to channel their dissent into loosely organized civic activism, often relying on protests to mobilize support and reach the broader public despite state control of the media. Authoritarian governments have responded by adopting harsher laws on public assembly, enabling them to jail protest leaders and even ordinary participants for vaguely defined offenses like disturbing public order and gathering without a permit. Protesters can also be imprisoned on trumped-up charges, such as assaulting a police officer or possessing a weapon. This discourages others from joining the civic movements and prevents them from growing into organized political forces.

5. **Discarding term limits:** Term limits designed to prevent the concentration of power in one individual have been rolled back, circumvented, or removed altogether in Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and many other countries over the past 15 years.[10] Endless incumbency denies opposition forces an opportunity to win over both voters and elements of the ruling establishment that may be ready for new leadership. It also promotes personal loyalty at the expense of public service, stunts the development of possible successors, reinforces the impression that only the current leader is fit to govern, and feeds a self-perpetuating fear of political change.

### Returning to old habits

While modern authoritarian regimes have generally maintained some illusion of pluralism as one of their main concessions to the post–Cold War international order, a number of governments have been less attentive to this priority, drifting back toward the electoral tactics, and lopsided results, of 20th-century dictatorships.

In Belarus, the election of just two members of the opposition to the rubber-stamp parliament in 2016 was actually regarded as a step forward from the 2004, 2008, and 2012 balloting, in which no opposition candidates won seats. Lukashenka, in power since 1994, was accused of directing an assassination squad prior to the 2001 presidential election. Four politicians and journalists who had been critical of the incumbent disappeared prior to the vote. After Lukashenka won another term in a deeply flawed 2010 election, the authorities arrested over 700 protesters, including seven of the nine opposition presidential candidates. The regime later sentenced three of the former candidates to prison terms.[11]

Ethiopian opposition members were beaten and arrested during the 2015 electoral campaign. The Semayawi Party reported that more than 50 of its members were arrested ahead of the polls, and nearly half of Semayawi candidates were deregistered on administrative grounds. The ruling EPRDF and its allies took all 547 seats in the lower house. The 2010 elections were also tightly controlled, with local officials or neighborhood militia going door to door and verifying that residents had registered as members of the EPRDF. Voters were threatened with the loss of their jobs, homes, or government services if they did not turn out for the party. The most charismatic opposition figure, the leader of the Unity and Justice Party, Birtukan Mideksa, remained in prison during the election, in which opposition candidates took only two seats.[12]

The possible motivations for retrograde electoral abuses vary from country to country, but authoritarians may feel emboldened to drop their quasi-democratic camouflage due to the lack of diplomatic repercussions for such actions. The European Union and the United States have criticized Belarus as "Europe's last dictatorship," but they always seem willing to give Lukashenka another chance to improve relations based on the thinnest hopes of reform. Democratic powers have treated Ethiopia as a counterterrorism ally and a model of rapid economic development, granting it billions of dollars in foreign assistance.

### Elections and democratic renewal

Whether through blatant repression or less obvious methods, modern authoritarians seek to control the outcome of elections. They need to hold votes to validate their rule, but they also recognize the risk involved, as elections remain a potent instrument of democratic renewal even in deeply troubled societies.

The events of late 2014 and 2015 include vivid reminders of the power of the ballot. In Nigeria, Africa's most populous country and largest economy, voters who were fed up with governmental complacency, terrorism, and graft rejected the incumbent president, Goodluck Jonathan, and elected Muhammadu Buhari to replace him. In Myanmar, a huge turnout produced an overwhelming victory in parliamentary elections for longtime opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy (NLD), a remarkable turnaround in a country that until recently ranked among the world's most repressive.

Voters in Sri Lanka ousted their increasingly authoritarian and divisive president, Mahinda Rajapaksa, in favor of Maithripala Sirisena. Upon taking office, Sirisena immediately overturned some of Rajapaksa's repressive policies and began repairing relations with both the country's Tamil minority and the international community. And in Argentina, opposition candidate Mauricio Macri won the presidency by defeating the nominee of incumbent Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, who with her late husband, Néstor Kirchner, had dominated the executive branch for over a decade. Combined with a victory for the democratic opposition in Venezuela's parliamentary elections, Macri's victory may have been the beginning of a rollback of Latin America's populist movements, which had previously made impressive gains across the region.[13]

Voters in these countries retained faith in the democratic process even after experiencing hardship after hardship, including military rule (Myanmar), civil war and authoritarian rule (Sri Lanka), a terrorist scourge (Nigeria), economic collapse and political repression (Venezuela), and economic setback and unaccountable government (Argentina). They prevailed despite, in some cases, an electoral playing field tilted sharply against the opposition; in other cases, a history of political violence; and in still other cases, apprehensions about what lies ahead when dictatorships give way to normal politics.

Some of these voters were also rejecting political figures who had publicly disdained the world's democracies and drawn closer to authoritarian powers like Russia, China, and Iran. They were willing to listen to candidates who talked about the rule of law, freedom of expression, and the right to be free of payoffs and bribes, and they were unimpressed by those who blamed every step backward on foreign plots.

There will always be dictators and would-be leaders for life who grow overconfident, lose touch with the mood of their people, and fail to do what it takes to ensure victory at the polls, as apparently occurred in The Gambia in late 2016. But the rest can be expected to learn from such mistakes and invest the necessary resources in a false mockery of democratic suffrage.

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## Chapter 2

# Propaganda at Home and Abroad

The following propositions have all appeared in the Russian media over the past few years:

- The United States hired Islamic State terrorists to sabotage the Russian commercial airliner that was destroyed after takeoff in the Sinai in 2015.
- A three-year-old boy was crucified by the U.S.-backed Ukrainian army in Slovyansk in 2014.
- The United States is planning a major war in Europe to enable Washington to cancel its national debt.
- The downing of the Malaysian airliner over eastern Ukraine in 2014 was in fact the central ingredient in an elaborate, American-driven plot to place blame on Russia.
- American policies will lead to a global "homosexual sodomite tsunami."

This is just a small sample of similar claims or conjectures that have made their way into Russian news coverage, especially in the wake of Moscow's occupation of Crimea and invasion of eastern Ukraine. They stand as a reminder that under Vladimir Putin, the Russian media environment has been transformed from one marked by vibrancy and diverse opinions (if not high professional standards) to one dominated by blatant propaganda on the most sensitive international topics of the day.

The basic regime narrative of U.S.-led conspiracy is applied to a broad set of themes: depression in oil prices, downgrading of Russia's credit ratings, political change in Ukraine, Russia's Olympics doping scandal. Every problem, Russians are told, is due to American plots and maneuvers.

### Press freedom and democracy

A free press ranks among the most critical institutions of liberal democracy. Among the reforms introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his campaign to modernize the Soviet system, *glasnost*, or openness, played the most important role in challenging the decades-old system of Soviet totalitarianism. Something similar can be said of press freedom initiatives in other new democracies during the latter part of the 20th century, particularly in postcommunist societies where strict press censorship had prevailed for years. Even if the professionalism and ethical standards of journalism in those countries were not always up to the highest levels, the fact that the press spoke with different voices, different opinions, and even different biases was a huge step toward a world in which democracy was the norm.

> "If the 20th century was defined by the battle for freedom of information and against censorship, the 21st century will be defined by malevolent actors, states or corporations, abusing the right to freedom of information for quite other ends."
>
> **—Vasily Gatov, media analyst**
>
> "Information wars have already become standard practice and the main type of warfare. The bombers are now sent in after the information campaign."
>
> **—Dmitry Kiselyov, chief Russian propaganda strategist**

### Authoritarians push back

It is precisely because of press freedom's central importance to democracy that the new generation of authoritarian leaders has made its annihilation a top priority. However, modern authoritarians recognize that the methods of the print and analog broadcast era—prepublication censorship and stilted, formulaic propaganda—were no longer viable in the age of digital media and globalization.

At a minimum, governments that sought involvement in the world economy found it advisable to tolerate a measure of openness about budgets, economic data, and those aspects of social life that are critical for international business. Authoritarian leaders thus face the dilemma of retaining domination over the political story while permitting a degree of accurate information about economic affairs.

Furthermore, because the population now has greater access to foreign sources of news and entertainment, regimes must grapple with the complex task of monopolizing the political discourse in ways that are far more convincing and compelling than the robotic pronouncements that played such a crucial part in communism's loss of credibility.

As is the case with so much of modern authoritarian practice, Russia has taken the lead in developing strategies and methods of media domination. The system built under Vladimir Putin is defined by the following characteristics:

1. **Control over the commanding heights of the media:** Among Putin's first goals as president was securing domination of the most influential media—the national television stations. They had been controlled by various oligarchs, who used the outlets to promote their personal and political interests. While the resulting journalism was hardly objective and independent, Russian television and Russian media generally were notable for their liveliness and diversity during the presidency of Boris Yeltsin. All did not sing out of the same hymnal, and most influential outlets reflected a variety of opinions about government policies, including the Kremlin's conduct of the war in Chechnya.

   Putin moved quickly to change these conditions. He reorganized and exerted tighter political control over state-owned television stations, brought others under indirect state control, and ensured that most of the remainder fell into the hands of loyal businessmen. Likewise, a number of the country's leading newspapers and journals were bought by cronies of the leadership. The era of media diversity came to an abrupt end.[1]

2. **Distortion of coverage on sensitive topics:** Unlike in communist times, the media do provide independent coverage of topics that the Kremlin considers less politically relevant. However, some normally apolitical topics can take on a highly political meaning. For example, coverage of the penalties meted out to Russian Olympic athletes for systematic doping reflected the leadership's position that the scandal was a product of American machinations.[2]

3. **Shrinking gap between offline and online media:** For much of Putin's tenure, the internet remained lightly regulated in comparison with the Kremlin's tight control over television and other mass media. However, Freedom House has noted growing restrictions over the past several years, with a series of new laws, prosecutions, and ownership changes that have reduced the Russian internet's freedom and diversity in practice.[3]

4. **A small stable of independent outlets:** A token number of media outlets are allowed to remain independent at the sufferance of the Kremlin. These include the newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, the indirectly state-owned radio station *Ekho Moskvy*, and a handful of internet-based news services, some of which are forced to operate from neighboring countries. Coerced ownership changes and other forms of pressure have gradually reduced the already tiny independent media sector in recent years. And the remaining independent outlets have little reach, small audiences, and at best modest impact on domestic politics.

5. **The 'weaponization' of information:** While Putin has used the press as a propaganda instrument throughout his political career, it was after his third term as president began in 2012 that the media were given a special, central role in demonizing Putin's critics, preparing the Russian people for armed conflict in Ukraine and elsewhere, depicting Europe as morally corrupt, and attributing Russia's problems and setbacks to the United States.[4] With the invasion of Ukraine in 2014, the world awakened to the return of propaganda as an instrument of warfare. This is not just normal political spin or public diplomacy, but sheer, raw propaganda that deliberately crosses the line between interpretation of facts and outright mendacity. The aim is both to stir up belligerence at home and to isolate, confuse, and demoralize the enemy.[5]

6. **The centralization of information policy:** The creation in 2013 of Rossiya Segodnya, an umbrella organization for Moscow's foreign news services, signaled the leadership's intention to use information in a more strategic way to advance the country's international objectives. Dmitry Kiselyov, a controversial television presenter, was named to head the new entity.[6] He actually embraces his identity as the Kremlin's chief propagandist, arguing that "Western" concepts

of journalistic neutrality are fraudulent and self-serving. There is, he contends, no difference between his role and the role of a chief editor of Reuters or the Associated Press. In one interview, Kiselyov equated those two news services with Rossiya Segodnya: "Both are propaganda agencies—they shape the dominant narrative and tell their audiences what and how to think." He continued: "In today's world, information—how it is gathered, analyzed, interpreted and processed … pushes a value system, certain views on good and evil, and shapes attitudes to different events."[7]

7. **The irrelevance of truth:** "For the Soviets, the idea of truth was important—even when they were lying," Peter Pomerantsev has written. "Soviet propaganda went to great lengths to 'prove' that the Kremlin's theories or bits of information were fact." By contrast, in today's Russia the idea of truth is seen as irrelevant and "the borders between fact and fiction have become utterly blurred." Pomerantsev quotes Russia's deputy minister of communications as admonishing journalism students at Moscow State University to forget about high ideals. "We should give students a clear understanding: They are going to work for The Man, and The Man will tell them what to write, what not to write, and how this or that thing should be written."[8] Russian propaganda outlets, especially RT, derive their influence from a clever blend of act and faction, mixing reports on genuine events with exaggerations, biased coverage, and outright lies. And this mixture of fact and fiction is presented with modern production techniques that mimic credible outlets like the BBC.

### Propaganda works

The idea that governments can influence events through propaganda once seemed far-fetched in the internet age. Developments in Ukraine, however, have spurred a reassessment of propaganda's role in setting the stage for intervention abroad and repression at home.

According to numerous accounts in the international media, many Russians believe that the Ukrainian government is responsible for massive war crimes, including the crucifixion of small children and the downing of the Malaysian Airlines passenger jet.[9] Many of the wildest assertions have been reinforced by altered or repurposed images that allegedly depict Ukrainian atrocities but actually show events in Mexico, Syria, Iraq, or other zones of civil conflict. Ordinary Russians and many Ukrainian consumers of Russian media have told foreign journalists of fears that "fascism" has come to power in Ukraine.[10]

In George Orwell's dystopian novel *1984*, the Ministry of Truth advanced what today would be called a regime narrative, with accounts of never-ending conflict abroad and treasonous enemies within. In similar fashion, though with considerably more finesse and sophistication than was described in Orwell's masterpiece, Russian media today preach a strident message of external encirclement by Russophobes in Ukraine, the Baltics, Georgia, and elsewhere, and internal fifth-columnists among bloggers, civil society organizations, and advocates of gay rights.

The media in democracies, especially in Europe, proved unprepared for the deluge of Russian propaganda during and after the seizure of Crimea. Putin was thus able to drum home the portrayal of Ukraine as a "divided state" or an "artificial state," labels that could be attached to many sovereign nations, Russia included.[11] Few were ready to mount a challenge to the Russian proposition that Ukraine's status was unique, and was a legitimate cause for Russia's concern and even a justification for war. The Russian propaganda machine also zeroed in on Ukraine's supposed lack of respect for minority rights, a problem that Moscow had not raised during the administrations of Viktor Yanukovych or Leonid Kuchma. Neither Ukrainians nor informed observers in the outside world believed that Ukraine was faced with a civil war. This was entirely a creation of Moscow's propaganda and active intervention.[12]

Russia's government is not alone in its use of propaganda to further its interests. But it is uniquely aggressive in pressing the dominant theme of the moment and the most effective in mimicking the idioms of modern commercial media while doing so. Furthermore, as the country faces serious decay in economic and other material terms, the Kremlin sees success in the war of information as critical to Russia's identity as a great power. Other authoritarian regimes will take note of Russia's successes, and act accordingly.

In past eras, dictators' instrument of choice was censorship. However, people understood that they were being cheated when the authorities banned books and prosecuted those who possessed "unauthorized literature." Under a modern propaganda regime, alternative perspectives are permitted on a carefully rationed basis. But dissenting opinions are invariably subjected to relentless attack and ridicule, and the dissidents themselves face a form of character assassination in which their views are twisted to make them appear foolish, extreme, unpatriotic, or immoral.

Christopher Walker, a vice president at the National Endowment for Democracy who has written extensively on modern authoritarianism, believes that control of information is the most important achievement of today's generation of autocrats:

> I think modern authoritarians have been adept at adjusting to the new environment. They recognize that trying to control the wealth of information out there is impossible, and therefore they don't try. There are a number of countries which have found effective ways to incorporate entertainment and culture into their media offerings while keeping domination over the political sphere. They have thus defied the assumptions we held 20 years ago when the internet was emerging. The conventional wisdom then was that the internet guaranteed media diversity, and there is no way regimes could keep the genie in the bottle. In fact, in many countries authoritarians have kept the genie in the bottle through managing the political narrative and denying people access to key information.[14]

Walker's comments certainly apply to conditions in Russia. During the communist period, Soviet propaganda was meant to justify both state socialism and Russia's isolation from the global economic system and Western culture. In Russia, China, and elsewhere, it is now possible for citizens to enjoy the latest international music, fashion, and entertainment while hating the liberal values that are systematically disparaged in the media.

What is tragic about all this is that Russians already came through a decades-long period of propaganda in which reality was twisted and lies circulated as a conscious matter of national policy. Orwell and other foes of totalitarian rule sought to describe the danger that propaganda and censorship posed to knowledge, reality, and independent thought. But instead of things getting better after the demise of totalitarianism, a newer and in some ways more insidious form of information control has emerged, one which does not so much try to persuade people that the government line is the only correct line, but that facts do not exist as such and nothing can be believed.

### China: 21st-century censorship

The Chinese model of information control differs in crucial ways from the propaganda methods favored by Russia. Especially in its policies towards the internet, China focuses its energies on preventing access to information or news on a wide and perpetually evolving range of subjects that the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regards as sensitive.

Under Xi Jinping, who took power in late 2012, the government has been much more open in arguing for the right of the political leadership to censor internet content. He has, in fact, launched a campaign designed to radically redraw the global rules on internet freedom so as to enshrine the concept of "internet sovereignty," according to which individual countries would "independently choose their own path of cyber development" and "model of cyber regulation."[15]

In late 2015, Xi also made the baffling statement, "Freedom is what order is meant for, and order is the guarantee of freedom."[16] Over the next several months, regulators moved to enforce the president's vision for tighter CCP control over all news media and imposed rules that further restricted the production of independent news content by online outlets.[17]

Perhaps most important have been the threats to the livelihood and personal liberty of bloggers and online commentators. In recent years, the state has pursued a campaign of arrest, prosecution, and public humiliation directed against well-known microbloggers and other media personalities, including a series of televised "confessions." The machinery of repression was directed against those who had used their platforms to criticize the leadership or its policies, and to a disturbing extent, the effort has been successful in silencing such criticism.

Among other recent developments in the CCP's censorship drive:

- The authorities have punished journalists for publishing news about the economy that highlighted negative trends, and issued media directives aimed at shaping coverage of economy-related topics. The economy was the second most censored topic in China in 2015, a year that featured a dramatic stock-market crash and slowing economic growth.[18]

- Chinese censors sent out guidelines listing subjects that should not be covered or not covered in a negative way during parliamentary sessions in 2016. Included on the list were the wealth of parliamentary delegates, military budgets, compliance with international human rights conventions, air pollution, church demolitions, and jokes about parliamentarians' proposals.[19]

- Censorship officials quashed coverage of the "Panama Papers," the trove of documents leaked in 2016 that listed the offshore holdings of the global elite, including the relatives of top Chinese officials.[20]

- China added Time and the Economist to the list of blocked media websites in 2016, apparently in retaliation for articles that were critical of Xi Jinping's accumulation of power.[21]

- In February 2016 visits to China Central Television (CCTV), the Xinhua news agency, and the People's Daily newspaper—the flagships of the party and state media—Xi admonished the assembled journalists to give absolute support to the party leadership and later declared that all media should "have the party as their family name."[22]

While critical voices can still be found on the internet, the authorities have been highly successful in suppressing material that might lead to any broad form of online protest or collective action. In addition to intrusive laws and regulations, the regime deploys armies of paid and volunteer commentators to flood social media with progovernment remarks, influence online discussions, report or attack those who make antigovernment comments, or sow confusion about particular incidents that might reflect poorly on the leadership.[23]

The overall goal of this strategy is to weaken the internet's potential as a mobilizing force for critics or reformers. Indeed, after years of intense pressure, the medium is drawing closer to Xi Jinping's ideal of an internet that is "clear and bright."[24]

### Global reach

Both Russia and China have launched ambitious and expensive projects to expand the reach of propaganda and censorship beyond their borders. Russia's project is better known due to RT, a global television network that is available to foreign audiences in a number of languages and through many cable packages. Russia has also launched Sputnik, an international news service, in multiple languages. These outlets tend to be more effective than China's at imitating the production styles and intentionally contentious formats now employed by many major outlets in democratic countries.

The degree to which RT and other arms of the Russian global media apparatus actually influence the debate about Russia is unclear. RT makes grandiose claims of high viewership, but some analysts believe that its audience in the United States and elsewhere is much lower than asserted, and that its sizeable audience on YouTube may be inflated by enticing video clips with little political relevance.[25]

When it was launched in 2005, RT's programming stressed the achievements of Russia and the strong leadership of Vladimir Putin. Subsequently, the focus changed to negative messages about the West, especially the United States. Programs have chronicled American poverty, inequality, political hypocrisy, racial injustice, and other real or perceived flaws. The network often promotes conspiracy theories about everything from the destruction of New York's World Trade Center in 2001 to America's alleged role as puppet master behind the Ukrainian protest movement of 2013–14.[26]

Superficially, China's overseas propaganda efforts seem less aggressive. While Beijing has greatly expanded the capacity of CCTV's international broadcasts and opened media offices around the globe, the news content is less polemical and therefore less interesting than that of RT.

But the CCP's ultimate objectives may actually be far more ambitious. Rather than engaging, like Russia, in what amount to guerrilla-style attacks on mainstream news and information abroad, the Chinese regime is using its superior economic muscle to steadily gain control over how China is depicted in news coverage and popular culture in the rest of the world, and to establish something of a consensus on the idea of a "sovereign internet."

Its various tactics include state pressure on foreign correspondents tasked with informing the world about developments in China: Those who are too critical or too aggressive in conducting investigations into sensitive matters may find their visas revoked, their outlet's website blocked, and their employers placed in a sort of political purgatory.[27]

The CCP has also asserted control over news outlets in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Chinese diaspora communities around the world.[28] Beijing has used pressure tactics and exerted influence through intermediaries to change editors or owners of critical outlets in Hong Kong.[29] Wealthy progovernment forces from the mainland have begun to buy up media outlets in Hong Kong and elsewhere.[30] And there have been instances in which businessmen with economic interests in China have attempted to expand their media holdings in Taiwan.[31]

Perhaps more disturbing is China's effort to purchase influence in global culture through its state-affiliated and nominally private companies. For example, Visual China Group, a mainland company, has purchased the image and licensing division of Corbis, a company that controls a huge archive of historically important photographs. The trove includes iconic photographs of the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations, which CCP censors have worked hard to keep out of the Chinese media. Those involved in the sale offered assurances that the new owners would not hinder the global circulation of politically sensitive images, but there is little to prevent them from casting aside such pledges at some future date.[32]

Another Chinese company, Dalian Wanda Group, has raised concerns with its rapid incursions into the U.S. film industry. Already the world's largest owner of cinemas, including the second-largest U.S. theater chain, Wanda purchased Legendary Entertainment, a production company, in 2016 and is said to be interested in gaining control of a major Hollywood studio. American lawmakers were sufficiently disturbed by Wanda's initiatives to request a Justice Department investigation. There is concern that China's companies, with state encouragement, are pursuing influence in Hollywood to ensure a favorable depiction of China and its CCP regime in major films.[33] Even with studios under U.S. ownership, the international media have repeatedly uncovered cases in which U.S. filmmakers altered elements of their work to address or anticipate the objections of Chinese censors, who serve as gatekeepers to the country's lucrative domestic market.[34]

### Exploiting democratic culture for authoritarian ends

Ironically, some products of democratic culture have facilitated the work of modern authoritarian propagandists. The notion that there is no such thing as objective truth and that history is nothing more than a contest of competing narratives owes its popularity to radical theorists who have gained a strong foothold in academia and even among some who call themselves journalists, such as Glenn Greenwald.

While accusations that the press is biased or publishes lies are common in American political campaigns, the hysterical charges hurled by Donald Trump against the media during the 2016 presidential campaign served to reinforce the Kremlin's model of a world in which the truth is determined by power rather than impartial investigation.

Moscow especially makes shrewd use of an unfortunate journalistic habit in which evenhandedness—a worthy goal when presenting two sides in a genuine debate—is improperly applied, so that patently false assertions are treated as symmetrical with legitimate views or facts.

Many outside Russia would not disagree with Kiselyov's dismissive views on the concept of impartial reporting. In meeting the challenge of authoritarian propaganda, a good place to start would be a reaffirmation of the central role occupied by high-quality, traditional journalism in democratic societies.

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## Chapter 3

# The Enemy Within: Civil Society at Bay

Among the more surprising developments in 21st-century politics are the reversals experienced by civil society, once regarded as an irresistible force in the global struggle for democracy.

According to *Freedom in the World*, the ability of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil society institutions to function without state restrictions has suffered a pronounced decline over the past decade. The setbacks have been concentrated in authoritarian states like Russia, China, Venezuela, and Iran. But civil society has also met with growing problems in democracies—India and Indonesia among them—and in settings where democracy's prospects are unclear, as with Ecuador, Hungary, and Kenya.

The growing offensive against civil society is in many respects a tribute to the prominent role that NGOs have come to play in the political life of most countries. An active civil society is often seen as a formidable threat to a repressive or illiberal status quo. Civil society was the linchpin in the successful popular revolutions in Serbia, Ukraine, and Georgia. In fact, civil society organizations frequently pose a greater threat to autocracy than do traditional opposition parties, which have proven relatively easy for determined strongmen to sideline, neutralize, or co-opt. Civil society movements, by contrast, are generally composed of younger activists, committed to a cause, more resilient, more agile, and less prone to corruption.

To be sure, even some authoritarian states can boast of an active and growing civil society sector consisting of humanitarian organizations, religious entities, conservation groups, associations focused on public health or development, and so forth. It is with the NGOs that pursue politically sensitive objectives—human rights advocacy, democratic reform, or anticorruption measures—that oppressive leaders have serious differences. Especially in countries where elections have been rendered meaningless, civil society groups can become surrogates for a democratic opposition, and are therefore regarded with deep suspicion by the leadership.

### The specter of 'color revolution'

The term "color revolution" emerged in 2003–05 to describe a phenomenon whereby an existing political leadership is overthrown by a popular movement using tactics of nonviolent civil disobedience.

> "Countries in western Asia and northern Africa, Ukraine and Thailand, which have experienced street protests and even armed conflicts, have been led astray to the wrong path of Western-style democracy, that is, 'street politics.'... The United States and some Western forces have been involved in the street politics in these countries, either on stage or behind the scenes."
>
> **—Xinhua, paraphrasing an editorial by Mi Bohua of the People's Daily**
>
> "In the modern world, extremism is being used as a geopolitical instrument and for remaking spheres of influence. We see what tragic consequences the wave of so-called color revolutions led to.... We should do everything necessary so that nothing similar ever happens in Russia."
>
> **—Vladimir Putin**

Successful nonviolent democratic revolutions are not new. Perhaps the first color revolution took place in 1974, when a dictatorship in Portugal was overthrown by military officers who drew on the support of civilian democracy advocates. Later peaceful revolutions overcame authoritarian regimes in the Philippines, South Korea, Chile, and Poland.

In the 21st century, however, the definitive events behind the new label took place in Georgia (2003) and Ukraine (2004–5). Both countries were governed by politicians with close ties to Moscow who were either personally corrupt or tolerated high levels of graft. In the Ukrainian elections of 2004, there was strong evidence of rigging to ensure the victory of Viktor Yanukovych, the candidate of the pro-Russian old guard.

## Tightening the Screws: The Kremlin's Legal Campaign against Civil Society

- **JANUARY 2006: Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation**
  This law gave authorities the power to deny registration to organizations that "threaten" Russia, bar foreigners from opening organizations, subject foreign funding to more scrutiny, and make the founding and operation of organizations excessively burdensome, including by imposing frequent audits and reporting requirements.

- **JULY 2012: Amendments to the Law on Noncommercial Organizations, the Criminal Code, the Law on Public Associations, and the Law on Combating Money Laundering and the Financing of Terrorism**
  This package of measures, which included the provision known as the "foreign agents law," required nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that receive foreign funding and carry out broadly defined "political activity" to register with the Justice Ministry and meet onerous requirements, including filing quarterly financial reports, submitting to annual and unscheduled audits, subjecting foreign donations to monitoring, and marking all publications and events with the "foreign agent" label. Penalties for noncompliance include fines, suspension of funds, and imprisonment of personnel. Other amendments penalized creating and participating in "illegitimate" groups and groups that urge citizens to shirk their civic duties or perform other illegal acts.

- **FEBRUARY 2014: Amendments to the Law on Noncommercial Organizations**
  This change greatly expanded the list of reasons for unannounced audits of NGOs.

- **JUNE 2014: Amendments to the Law on Noncommercial Organizations**
  Enacted to strengthen enforcement of the foreign agents law, this legislation authorized the Justice Ministry to register NGOs as foreign agents without their consent and without a court order, and shifted the burden of proof to NGOs, compelling them to go to court to fight the label.

- **MAY 2015: Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation**
  Known as the "undesirable organizations law," this package of changes empowered the prosecutor general to shut down or restrict the activities of NGOs that are deemed "undesirable," vaguely defined as groups that pose "a threat to the foundation of the constitutional order of the Russian Federation, the defense capability of the country, or the security of the state." The amendments bar such organizations from opening delegate offices, carrying out programs, and promoting their activities in Russia, and subject collaborators with these NGOs to possible fines and imprisonment.

- **JUNE 2016: Amendments to the Law on Public Associations and the Law on Noncommercial Organizations**
  This legislation revised the loose definition of "political activity" under the foreign agents law, but rather than narrowing the meaning of the term, it applied the law's restrictions to any activity aimed at influencing the government or public opinion. That could include opinion surveys, monitoring of government agencies' performance, analysis of laws or policies, and petitions or other communications aimed at government officials.

Confronted by mass demonstrations, the authorities ordered a rerun. The candidate of the reformist Orange coalition won that election, which was widely seen as free and honest.

The Orange Revolution was to have far-reaching repercussions. While democracies celebrated the outcome, repressive regimes reacted with alarm. The concerns expressed by Russian officials were soon echoed in China, Iran, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Venezuela, and other authoritarian countries. Vladimir Putin spoke of the color revolution as the latest form of American interventionism, and began a process of restricting Russian NGOs that was to reach a climax a decade later.

Yanukovych eventually won the presidency in a 2010 comeback, but a second protest-driven revolution in Ukraine, the Maidan uprising of 2013–14, forced him to flee to Russia after a bloody crackdown failed to disperse the demonstrators. Among other things, the episode shattered the old political establishment, which had been more or less equally divided between parties that were friendly to Russia and parties that favored independence from the Kremlin and an orientation toward Europe. For the foreseeable future, pro-Russian parties were unlikely to play a major role in Ukrainian political life.

Russia responded by seizing and illegally annexing Crimea and fomenting a frozen conflict in eastern Ukraine. But the Kremlin also stepped up its campaign to demonize color revolutions more broadly as America's favored instrument of regime change, though no serious evidence of U.S. involvement in the Maidan revolution was put forward. The color revolution threat became a major theme of Russian domestic propaganda and political discourse. It even became a focus of the country's military planning.

When speaking of color revolutions, Russian officials and commentators have struck several common themes:

1. Color revolutions are a U.S. strategy to break Russia's influence over its neighbors.[1] Nikolay Patrushev, secretary of Russia's Security Council and a longtime director of the Federal Security Service (FSB), has described color revolutions as an American scheme to bring down governments through the financing of opposition groups and economic sanctions "under the pretext of human rights protection and the necessity to form civil society institutions."[2] Russian officials in 2015 warned that Electric Yerevan, an Armenian protest movement against electricity price hikes, could be a provocation by the West dedicated to toppling a Moscow-friendly administration.[3]

2. The threat of military action is an integral part of the strategy. While color revolutions by definition employ nonviolent tactics, Russian strategists claim that the military dimension can be indirect, embedded in democratic governments' warnings not to use force against protesters. In other words, according to the Kremlin, the United States and its allies stoke uprisings and then threaten to intervene if the authorities defend themselves. Russia's own response to the Maidan revolution was a reflection of this distorted image: It orchestrated separatist revolts in parts of Ukraine and then used its military to defend them.[4]

3. Color revolutions pose a danger to Russia's allies around the world. To communicate its concerns on this front, the Kremlin has invited military delegations from China, Iran, Egypt, and other authoritarian regimes for meetings at which countering color revolutions is an important theme.[5] Russian propaganda encourages governments to do what is necessary to put down civil society challenges, and praises incumbents who succeed.

4. Russia itself is under threat. "The aim is obvious," Putin said of protests and social media activity in 2015, "to provoke civil conflict and strike a blow at our country's constitutional foundations, and ultimately even at our sovereignty."[6]

5. Incumbents are 'legitimate' rulers. Russian officials have stressed the legal and constitutional legitimacy of authoritarian leaders facing major protests, regardless of their crimes and blatant abuses of human rights and democratic norms. Moscow insisted that Yanukovych remained the "legitimate" president even after he had abandoned his post to escape punishment for his role in the crackdown on demonstrators.

6. Russia reserves the right to intervene in defense of ethnic Russians. By asserting this right, the Kremlin is effectively saying that any color revolutions in neighboring states—many of which have Russian-speaking minorities—could trigger a Russian invasion, as in Ukraine. It could also become a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby the governments of neighboring countries come to mistrust and mistreat their ethnic Russian citizens, providing the Kremlin with an excuse to get involved.[7]

The Russian leadership's reaction to the color revolutions, with its paranoid obsession with sinister outside forces, is a clear indication of the lack of self-confidence that is shared by all authoritarian powers. Whether the state is led by a strongman, a politburo, or a supreme religious leader, the world's most repressive regimes understand that their systems offer few regular outlets for public frustration with government performance.

Fear of color revolutions has intensified since the 2014 events in Ukraine, with a particular focus on the alleged

## Authoritarians on Color Revolutions

"In my opinion, everything that happened in Ukraine shook Russia.... Young people began to discuss and think about Russia's direction."

**—Ivan Mostovich, press secretary of the pro-Kremlin youth organization Nashi, April 2005**

"We're only afraid these changes will be chaotic.... It'll be a banana republic where the one who shouts loudest is the one who wins."

**—Vladimir Putin, President of Russia, September 2005**

"We have sympathy with [Arab governments] because they did not read warnings that they should have read. That things were changing because of the wishes of their people, and because of machinations of the imperialists."

**—Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, June 2011**

"It is hardly likely that the US will admit to manipulating [Hong Kong's] 'Occupy Central' movement, just as it will not admit to manipulating other anti-China forces. It sees such activities as justified by 'democracy,' 'freedom,' 'human rights' and other values."

**—People's Daily commentary, October 2014**

"Hostile forces have always attempted to make Hong Kong the bridgehead for subverting and infiltrating mainland China.... The illegal Occupy Central activities in 2014 came as minority radical groups in Hong Kong, under the instigation and support of external forces ... orchestrated a Hong Kong version of a color revolution."

**—Gen. Sun Jianguo, deputy chief of general staff, People's Liberation Army, March 2015**

"Various human rights organizations, think tanks, and simple NGOs of the U.S. and its allies in Europe, concealing their true goals, have established a huge network of affiliates around the world.... It is they who act as the 'fifth column.'"

**—Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of presidential administration, Azerbaijan, December 2014**

"The sides noted that Russia and China had a common approach to the key problems of regional and international security and expressed readiness to counteract 'color revolutions.'... Russia and China suffered the biggest losses during WWII and should be resolutely opposed to any attempts to revive fascism and falsify the results of the bloodiest conflict in human history."

**—Russian Security Council, statement on security consultations with China, May 2015**

role of the United States as puppet master. Yet neither the Kremlin nor likeminded regimes have advanced credible evidence that the various civic movements were inauthentic. The American role in the Orange Revolution of 2004–5, for example, was limited to funding for voter training, upgrading of election technology, and other measures designed to assist authorities in ensuring fair balloting. There is no evidence of direct American government help to the Orange forces. If the United States influenced the eventual outcome, it did so by making it more difficult for the Ukrainian authorities to rig the election results.[8]

### Strangled by law

Over the past decade there has been a steady stream of laws that restrict the funding and operations of NGOs. While more than 50 countries have passed such legislation, the most aggressive campaign to bring civil society to heel through legal constraints has been carried out by the Russian authorities.

There are 11 laws on the books in Russia that deal solely with civil society organizations and another 35 that mention NGOs. Yet nowhere are NGOs defined. This vagueness is deliberate. It gives officials the discretion to decide which civil society organizations should be prosecuted and harassed and which should be left alone or encouraged. It enables them to penalize, for example, a foundation that supports scientific research due to alleged foreign funding, while ignoring foreign funding for a quasi-political charity sponsored by the Orthodox Church.[9]

In fact, most of these laws are unnecessary. In a state like Russia, China, or Iran, the authorities already have ample latitude to deregister and ban any organization, and to prevent foreign organizations from doing business with domestic partners. A legal system that is flexible enough to serve the evolving needs of the regime and target virtually any adversary is a hallmark of modern authoritarianism. But the NGO measures give an added veneer of legality to what is essentially arbitrary rule.

The repeated adoption of new laws also gives the leadership the opportunity to showcase emotional propaganda that stresses the subversive nature of foreign or independent domestic civil society organizations, reinforcing the idea that the motherland is threatened by hostile encirclement and political infiltration.[10]

### Foreign agents

In 2012, Russia adopted the so-called foreign agents law. It requires NGOs that receive foreign funding and engage in what the authorities define as political work to register as "foreign agents," a term that, in Russian, is synonymous with foreign spy. Subsequent amendments allow the Justice Ministry to register groups as foreign agents without their consent. As with many other Russian laws, the standards for enforcement are entirely political. The designation is applied principally to NGOs that seek political reforms or criticize the Kremlin's antidemocratic direction, though the authorities' reasoning in many cases is difficult to fathom. State-friendly organizations have generally been left alone.

Memorial, the human rights organization founded to carry forward the ideals associated with Andrey Sakharov, was one of the first groups to be unilaterally registered as a foreign agent by the Justice Ministry in 2014. In 2015, the ministry accused Memorial of "undermining the foundations of constitutional order" by describing the Russian invasion of Ukraine as aggression and by asserting, correctly, that active duty Russian troops were taking part in the conflict.[11]

As in most countries, including some democracies, civil society organizations in authoritarian climates are largely funded by governmental or foreign entities. There is little tradition of private philanthropic funding for NGOs, and even if there were, few wealthy Russians or Iranians would risk reprisal from the authorities by donating to regime critics. Consequently, organizations that lose access to foreign funding typically have no domestic alternative and must curtail their operations or give up their political independence.

In Russia, even NGOs with politically anodyne missions have been targeted as foreign agents, as the regime seeks to deter any civil society activity that could challenge official policies or foster international ties without state approval. One such organization was the Northern Nature Coalition, which protects old-growth forests and had protested certain development projects. Another was Young Karelia, which sponsors puppet shows for children in Karelian—a language closely related to that spoken in neighboring Finland. The latter group was declared a foreign agent in part because of a $10,000 grant from the United Nations.[12]

### The undesirables

Once it was the CIA that dictatorships reflexively blamed when under pressure. More recently, the target of attack is a group of prodemocracy foundations, mostly American, that encourage political reform through nonviolent methods. According to the denunciations of officials from Russia, China, Venezuela, and other repressive states, the National Endowment for Democracy and the organizations associated with philanthropist George Soros present a danger to the status quo that rivals NATO or Western intelligence agencies.[13]

In 2015, Putin signed a law that allowed the prosecutor general to declare foreign organizations "undesirable" if they are deemed to pose a threat to the country's security, defense capability, or public order. The measure empowered the authorities to shut such entities' offices in Russia, ban Russian groups from working with them, and freeze their assets.

While the law has been used to expel foreign prodemocracy organizations, the real targets are Russian citizens. This is made clear by a section of the law that calls for heavy fines and jail terms of up to six years for Russians who collaborate with organizations on the undesirable list. Conceivably, a Russia human rights advocate who attends a seminar in Poland or Germany sponsored by the International Republican Institute—one of the groups added to the list in 2016—could be prosecuted once back in Russia.[14]

### Sharing worst practices

During the 1990s there was much discussion in the major democracies regarding the export of "best practices," meaning the institutions, policies, and ways of doing things that had strengthened democratic governance in some of the more successful post-authoritarian societies, especially in Central Europe. More recently, modern authoritarian regimes have turned this concept on its head by sharing their own experiences with laws and tactics that have the effect of retarding democratic development.

Laws restricting the autonomy and funding of NGOs have been widely copied around the world. Many of the affected countries tolerated civil society activism in the period after the Cold War, only to move in a more repressive direction after the most prominent color revolutions alerted incumbent leaders to potential threat posed by civic activism. Once Russia had demonstrated a willingness to adopt legislation and then enforce it, other countries followed suit, first in Eurasia but subsequently in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.

Governments that adopt such laws seldom if ever shut down the civil society sector entirely. Instead, they deal with NGOs selectively, tolerating those that present no threat to the status quo, monitoring others, and repressing those that the leadership regards as a potential focus of opposition activity. Even some democracies, such as India, Indonesia, and Kenya, have enacted laws to strengthen state control over NGOs. But the most serious restrictions have been imposed by authoritarian regimes.[15]

According to a 2013 report, 12 countries had prohibited foreign funding for NGOs outright while another 49 placed restrictions on foreign donations.[16] For authoritarian leaders, the imposition of foreign funding restrictions is a convenient tactic in that it makes it difficult for the organization to function effectively but falls short of an outright ban, which could attract sharper criticism. Furthermore, governments can justify their action on grounds of protecting sovereignty against foreign interference—a potent argument in an era when nationalist ideas have garnered greater public support. Thus in rejecting an appeal to government policies that restrict NGO work, the Venezuelan Supreme Court spoke of foreign assistance as "a typical manifestation of the interventionist policies of a foreign power to influence the internal affairs of the Venezuelan state."[17]

### China piles on

In early 2016, joining its authoritarian colleagues, China adopted its first formal law meant to regulate the country's rapidly expanding NGO sector. Previously, foreign NGOs registered as commercial enterprises and conducted their advocacy work "off the books." Under the new law, foreign NGOs are subject to a series of additional bureaucratic hurdles, some of which could seriously impinge on their work.

For example, foreign NGOs are now required to join in partnership with a Chinese organization. In practice, this could make it difficult for NGOs that work on sensitive issues like the rule of law to function, as Chinese organizations would be hesitant to join a foreign entity in pursuing such a politically explosive mission.

Moreover, foreign NGOs will be compelled to register with the police rather than the Ministry of Civil Affairs, as had been the case.[18] The law gives the police sweeping powers to detain staff, restrict activities or events, or regulate an NGO's ability to open an office.[19] An NGO's registration can be revoked under a vague clause that forbids spreading rumors, engaging in defamation, or publishing "other harmful information that endangers state security or damages the national interest."[20]

The new law was passed in the context of intensified repression, an economic slowdown, and a drive by the Xi Jinping leadership to suppress discussion of "Western ideas" in the media and at universities. Even as the country's leadership boasted of China's role as a world power, the country's education minister, Yuan Guiren, felt compelled in 2015 to warn against the use of "textbooks promoting Western values" in Chinese classrooms.

Indeed, the authorities had carried out a series of arrests, focusing on precisely the sort of independent-minded activists with whom reform-oriented international NGOs would expect to collaborate: human rights lawyers, advocates for minority rights and religious freedom, and women's rights campaigners.[21] Around the time of the law's adoption, the government took the unusual step of showcasing a televised confession by a Swedish citizen who had worked with legal reform groups in China. Xinhua claimed that the activist, Peter Dahlin, had served a human rights organization that "hired and trained others to gather, fabricate, and distort information about China."[22]

The adoption of formal restrictions on NGOs is one sign among many that China is rolling up the welcome mat for the outside world. The leadership's exertion of pressure on reform-minded foreigners parallels its increasingly skeptical attitude toward the international press, certain foreign technology firms, Christian churches, and especially "Western" ideas like democracy, the rule of law, and press freedom. The hostility to NGOs is particularly troubling, however, given the total absence of national elections and opposition political parties in China. The NGO sector was one of the few outlets available to Chinese citizens who seek political change. The Xi Jinping leadership, in adopting the new law, is communicating its determination to shut off all possible avenues for independent political action.

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## Chapter 4

# The Ministry of Truth in Peace and War

> "It's easy predicting the future; what's difficult is predicting the past."
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> **—Soviet joke**
>
> "A lie isn't an alternative point of view."
>
> **—Linus Linkevičius, Lithuanian foreign minister**
>
> "The implied objective of this line of thought is a nightmare world in which the Leader, or some ruling clique, controls not only the future but the past.... This prospect frightens me much more than bombs."
>
> **—George Orwell, Looking Back on the Spanish War**

An early and telling sign that Vladimir Putin planned something more ambitious than a mere tightening of state control over political life was his decision to return Joseph Stalin to his position in the pantheon of great Russian leaders. Stalin's rehabilitation was formalized in 2007, with the publication of a new curriculum guide for teachers of Russian history.[1]

The manual's content dovetailed with Putin's broader promotion of a narrative in which Russia is a great power that recovered from the chaos and weakness of the Yeltsin era and overcame the hostility of determined enemies, especially the United States. According to the manual, Russia's dark chapters—its domination of Eastern Europe, internal repression, Stalinist purges—were the regrettable but understandable responses to the country's underdevelopment and encirclement by foreign enemies. The new history paints a picture of an all-wise Russian state, under both Stalin and Putin, whose requirements always take precedence over the needs of the individual.[2]

Putin took unusual interest in the preparation of the history manual. The idea that history should be written by historians, not political leaders, was never voiced in public discussion. Putin later called for history textbooks "written in proper Russian, free of internal contradictions and double interpretation."[3] He said the manual was needed to clear up "the muddle" in teachers' heads.

And in unveiling the new guide, he struck a theme that runs through Russian propaganda in the Putin era: Russian history "did contain some problematic pages," he said. "But so did other states' histories. We have fewer of them than in other countries. And they were less terrible than in some other countries." Putin's basic message was that "we can't allow anyone to impose a sense of guilt on us."[4] More broadly, Putin was saying that a sovereign state has the right to interpret its history in whatever way it wants, to ignore or distort the tragic chapters, and to burnish the reputations of mass murderers and thugs.

Whereas other countries simply avoid serious study of the most shameful episodes of their histories, as Indonesia has done with the epidemic of political killings during the 1960s, or as China has done with the Cultural Revolution, Russia treats the Stalin era as a time of progress during which the foundation for modern Russian greatness was laid.[5]

To build a case that Russia's dark pages were "less terrible" than those of other countries, Russia's official history depicts Stalin as a strong leader who was capable of acts of cruelty but whose rough tactics were necessary for the defense of the homeland, which was besieged militarily by the Nazis and politically by the capitalist powers.

### Excusing the Soviet empire

The Russian leadership is especially tenacious in defending Stalin's World War II diplomacy. Putin, for example, has defended the Hitler-Stalin pact, the 1939 nonaggression agreement that opened the door to Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland and carved up much of Eastern Europe between the two totalitarian states.[6] While Putin called the pact "immoral" during a 2009 visit to Poland, he defended the agreement during a joint press conference with Angela Merkel in 2015, following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

He did so in a fashion typical of current Russian propaganda methods. He accused the West of trying to "hush up" the agreement between British prime minister Neville Chamberlain and Adolf Hitler that resulted in Germany's seizure of parts and eventually all of Czechoslovakia. This clearly falsified the historical record. Far from suppressing Chamberlain's actions, historians and politicians alike have held up the Munich agreement as a symbol of all that went wrong due to the European democracies' appeasement of Hitler.[7]

Putin has also justified the Hitler-Stalin pact on the grounds that it kept the Soviet Union out of war for a time and was in keeping with the amoral power politics practiced in that era. As for the divvying up of Eastern Europe, he repeated the hoary lie that the record was unclear as to whether the pact's secret protocols—in which the two parties agreed on which territories each would subsequently control—were genuine.[8] Predictably, Putin did not go into the unwritten parts of the agreement that caused Stalin to forcibly repatriate a group of German dissidents, mostly Communists, who had sought refuge in the Soviet Union.

Both the history manual and the political leadership justify the transformation of postwar Eastern Europe into a Soviet-controlled bloc—in which the economy came under state control, religious belief was persecuted, civil society was destroyed, the press was converted into a monolithic instrument of propaganda, and opposition political parties were crushed—by claiming that Moscow needed a layer of territorial security to protect it from the hostile West. "Historical necessity" is how Putin's spokesman described Soviet domination of the region. Putin likewise blames the democracies for the Iron Curtain: "We understand the fatality of an 'iron curtain' for us. We will not go down this path. No one will build a wall around us."[9]

The manual recalls Mikhail Gorbachev not for his attempts to reform and liberalize the Communist system, but instead for his having permitted the unraveling of the European security belt in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Moving into the 21st century, the manual denounces the color revolutions in neighboring countries like Georgia and Ukraine as Western-backed schemes to replace pro-Russian leaders with pro-American usurpers. In this view, the centuries may change and the Soviet empire may fade into history, but Russia's geopolitical predicament remains constant.

### Sakharov as nonperson

Because Putin is intent on blaming the West for Russia's problems, both past and present, he has worked to ensure that critical domestic voices are removed from Russian history. This explains the near total absence of Andrey Sakharov from any discussion of the Soviet past or Russia's future course.

Today Sakharov is recalled abroad as a dissident and Nobel Peace Prize laureate. In Russia, however, he has been relegated to the status of nonperson. Putin and other leaders never refer to him, his legacy, or his views. The organizations that were launched to promote his principles are harassed and placed on the "foreign agents" list.[10] In an age of flourishing digital media, Russians are ironically less likely to know what Sakharov stood for than was the case under Soviet censorship, when underground samizdat literature was reproduced on manual typewriters to reach an audience of a few hundred.[11]

In fact, Sakharov was an imposing global presence from the mid-1960s until his death in 1989. His stature derived from his prominent role in the development of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. He was sometimes called the "father of the hydrogen bomb," and because of the respect he enjoyed in the global scientific community, his views on arms control carried enormous weight.

His initial forays into political dissent consisted of cautious statements about the importance of weapons treaties between Washington and Moscow. But the more he thought about arms control, the more closely he looked at his own society. And soon he was making caustic comments about the yawning gap between Soviet boasts on the achievements of socialism and the reality of Soviet backwardness.

He eventually came to see the system that prevailed in the Soviet Union as inherently repressive. Sakharov attributed Russia's epidemic of alcoholism to the leadership's having purged the governing system of moral considerations. He said it was "important that our society gradually emerge from the dead end of unspirituality." He spoke of the need for the "systematic defense of human rights and ideals, and not a political struggle, which would inevitably incite people to violence, sectarianism, and frenzy."[12]

The Kremlin has worked hard to make Russians forget that he once ranked among the eminent figures of global political protest. The current leadership is especially determined to ensure that Sakharov's core goals disappear from the debate: a Russia committed to humane and democratic values, a government that deals honestly with the people, and a country that lives at peace with its neighbors.

### The Ukraine factor

The falsification of history that began during the early years of Putin's leadership has been intensified in the wake of the invasion of Ukraine and seizure of Crimea in 2014. To convince the Russian people that waging a form of low-intensity warfare against a neighbor was justified, Putin has stepped up efforts to depict the West as antagonistic to Russian interests, launched a campaign to label those responsible for Ukraine's Maidan uprising as fascists, driven home the idea that ethnic Russians living outside the Russian Federation were under relentless persecution, and identified Russian critics of aggression against Ukraine as a treasonous fifth column.

A recurring theme of post-Crimea propaganda is the notion that Russia faces the same threats from the West today as it did during the Cold War. To make this point, Russian television aired a documentary meant to justify one of the more shameful events of the Soviet period, the 1968 Soviet-led Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. The invasion was undertaken to crush the reformist Prague Spring movement, whose leaders were moving increasingly in the direction of jettisoning state socialism, embracing democratic reforms, and seeking a kind of neutral geopolitical status much like that enjoyed at the time by Austria. The documentary used archival footage to build a concocted case that the invasion was necessary to thwart a NATO-inspired coup in Prague.[13] The clear purpose of the film was to portray NATO as a permanent threat to Russian interests, as much in 2014 as in 1968.[14]

Another television documentary focused on the seizure of Crimea, a year after the event. As Lucian Kim has noted, the program is something of a celebration of the tactics of dictatorship. The filmmakers offer no conflicting opinions and present American leaders as puppet masters. Among other claims, the documentary asserts that Washington gave the Maidan forces information about Ukrainian security methods that American officials had obtained during bilateral exchange programs with the Kyiv government. [15]

To further bolster the case for the invasion of Ukraine, the Russian propaganda machinery devoted great energy to demonstrating the fascist nature of the Maidan, relying heavily on invocations of Soviet history. The Ukrainian protesters and activists who helped drive out corrupt president Viktor Yanukovych, and the European-oriented politicians who replaced him, were repeatedly labeled as present-day followers of Stepan Bandera, a controversial nationalist leader who fought the Soviets and at times cooperated with the Nazis in a doomed campaign for an independent Ukraine during World War II. Russian media presented Bandera and his followers as unambiguous allies of the Nazis, and highlighted their wartime atrocities. Russian media also featured a number of documentaries that emphasized Russian, as opposed to Soviet, resistance to Hitler. The objective was to equate contemporary Ukrainians who favored full sovereignty and independence from Russian influence with Nazi collaborators and pogromists. This served not only to explain Moscow's response, but also to deter any emulation of the Maidan protests in Russia itself.

### The assault on academic freedom

Since the occupation of Crimea and invasion of eastern Ukraine, it has become increasingly dangerous to express dissenting views on Russian foreign policy in Russia's schools and universities. Putin made the point quite clearly in a speech before the parliament in March 2014, when he referred to a "fifth column" and a "disparate bunch of national traitors" sowing discord within Russia.[16]

In the ensuing months, anyone criticizing Russian policy risked the label of foreign agent, which in Russian usage is tantamount to being called a spy. Around this time a new website called Predatel (traitor) began listing alleged traitors, specifically those who had criticized Russia's annexation of Crimea or supported sanctions against Russian officials. The site encouraged Russians to send in the names of other traitors.

Meanwhile, a number of educators fell afoul of the new policies on the teaching of history. In March 2014, Andrey Zubov, who held a position at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, was fired for "an immoral act"—namely an article he published in the newspaper *Vedomosti* that criticized the seizure of Crimea and compared it to Hitler's annexation of Austria. "We must not behave the way the Germans once behaved, based on the promises of Goebbels and Hitler," he wrote. The university's explanation claimed that Zubov's writings "contradict Russia's foreign policy and inflict careless, irresponsible criticism on the actions of the state."[17] In a similar incident, senior sociologist Aleksandr Konkov was let go by Sakhalin State University after declaring that Russia had seized Crimea opportunistically because Ukraine was weak, not because Crimeans themselves had clamored for the takeover.[18]

In May 2014, Putin signed a new law that criminalized the purposeful distortion of the Soviet Union's role in World War II. It could easily be applied to historians who, for example, criticize Stalin's Great Terror and its decimation of the military leadership in the years before the war.[19] Historians who make the "wrong" interpretations of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the huge casualties suffered by the Red Army, or the rape and plunder committed by Soviet troops as they marched toward Berlin might also risk criminal penalties.

In late 2016 the Russian Security Council discussed the establishment of a new center to counter the "falsification" of history. The council placed the proposal in the context of the country's national security, pointing to "deliberate destructive activity by foreign state structures and international organizations to realize geopolitical interests by means of carrying out anti-Russian policies."

A group of experts identified six topics from Russia's past that they claimed were being actively distorted as part of an anti-Russia strategy. Among the topics: the Soviet Union's ethnic policies, the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Soviet Union's conduct during World War II, the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the Soviet Union's suppression of uprisings in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany during the Cold War.[20] In each case, the most serious and respected historical accounts have been written by foreign scholars, due largely to the pressures, including outright censorship, brought to bear on Russian historians during Soviet times and more recently during the Putin era.

### China: Evading the past

Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward ranks among the most deadly politically inspired catastrophes in human history. From 1958 to 1962, Communist Party authorities, under strict orders from Beijing, forcibly herded millions of farmers into communes and then proceeded to seize grain harvested in the countryside to feed the urban population. The result, according to long-standing estimates, was the death of some 30 million people in the provinces. Historian Frank Dikötter, who studied the archives in some of the most seriously affected regions, has argued that the number of deaths was at least 45 million, and others have cited higher numbers. While most died of starvation, many were tortured to death or murdered by local Communists.[21]

To this day, Communist Party officials have refused to acknowledge anything approaching the full dimensions of the tragedy. Nor have they admitted that the party, and especially Mao, were responsible. Often they blame the weather. There are no official monuments to the victims, no days of commemoration, no serious histories available to the general public, and most significantly, no effort to place accountability where it belonged.

Chinese leaders may be even more concerned about presenting the "correct" interpretation of history than their Russian counterparts. An updated official version of the party history that was released in 2011 took 16 years to draft, including four extensive rewrites. It was vetted by 64 state and party bodies, including the People's Liberation Army. In telling the story of the Great Leap Forward, the history admits that the project brought great suffering, but credits Mao with wanting to "change a picture of poverty and backwardness and make China grow rich and strong so that it could use its own strength to stand tall in the forest of nations."[22] In other words, one of the century's great politically driven famines was justified because it supposedly contributed to China's emergence as a world power. The history also insists that Mao tried to change course when he learned of the growing rural suffering—an outright lie, as Mao actually doubled down on the most disastrous policies.

The determination to suppress any real assessment of the dark corners of Chinese history under the Communist Party is also reflected in the exhibits at the National Museum of China in Tiananmen Square. Mao's Cultural Revolution (1966–76), a period of political terror and violent nationwide purges, is dispensed with through one photograph and a brief caption, located in an out-of-the-way part of the facility. As for the famine, it is glossed over with the euphemistic phrase, "the project of constructing socialism suffered severe complications."[23]

### Seven 'don't mentions'

In 2013, the General Office of the Communist Party Central Committee issued a secret directive prohibiting universities from permitting the discussion of seven themes—the "Seven Don't Mentions." According to the directive, lecturers were not allowed to take up universal values, freedom of the press, civil society, civic rights, elite cronyism, judicial independence, and past mistakes of the Communist Party.[24]

To independent-minded scholars, the most disturbing item in the roster of Don't Mentions was the leadership's mistakes. While the authorities have never come close to permitting a serious investigation of either the Great Leap Forward or the Cultural Revolution, these and other aspects of the party's past were not considered utterly taboo, as long as the discussion did not lead to serious challenges to orthodox historical interpretations. According to the policies set down under Xi Jinping's leadership, talking in classrooms about Mao's errors is now forbidden.[25]

The drive to inculcate a national amnesia on the worst abuses of the Communist era is not limited to university courses. Commentary and discussion in the media and on the internet are also heavily censored, especially on anniversary days when, in normal societies, problematic events of the past are remembered and debated.[26] The most sensitive anniversary, of course, falls on June 4, marking the deadly 1989 crackdown on prodemocracy protests in Tiananmen Square. Even the most oblique or coded reference to that date on social media is quickly censored.

There are no museums devoted the Cultural Revolution or the Great Leap Forward. The archives of the Cultural Revolution period are mainly closed to researchers. Chinese historians have made some important breakthroughs, but can discuss their findings only with small groups of peers.

The Communist Party's refusal to come to terms with the crimes of the Mao era has enabled a revival of the former leader's personality cult that has captured the support of millions of Chinese. As Jamil Anderlini wrote in the *Financial Times*, Mao has come to be seen as a symbol of a "simpler, fairer society—a time when everyone was poorer but at least they were equally poor."[27] Xi and his colleagues have actively promoted Maoist images, songs, and propaganda themes as ornaments of Chinese nationalism, and used Mao-style tactics and terminology in their drive for ideological discipline and political loyalty.

The melding of nationalism and reverence for Mao is no accident. According to the regime's updated historical narrative, China was subjugated by foreign powers for more than a century until the party took power in 1949 and restored the country's national greatness. Admitting Mao's abuses would mean admitting that the first three decades of Communist rule left China poor, isolated, and traumatized, and that only the partial abandonment of party doctrine and control allowed the country to prosper.

A side effect of the party's appropriation of Chinese nationalism is a renewed hostility toward the foreign powers that kept China weak before Communist rule. Basic history textbooks—in addition to omitting or distorting the mistakes, failures, and criminal acts of the Communist leadership—focus on China's persecution at the hands of outsiders, especially Japan. Some Chinese critics worry that the teaching of history is cultivating an alarming degree of xenophobia and jingoism.[28]

### History held hostage

In much of the world today, there are or have been major efforts to confront uncomfortable truths about the past. This is certainly true of Germany and South Africa. Latin American countries like Chile and Argentina have probed the histories of ugly conflicts between military juntas and Marxist revolutionaries. In China's own backyard, South Korea and Taiwan have moved to address the complex legacies, including outright crimes, of dictators.

The process of accounting for the mistakes and crimes of earlier decades can raise a tangle of ethical and emotional challenges in any country. But resistance to a full examination of the past is especially bitter in societies where communism held sway. In China, the heirs of Mao still control the state, and the very legitimacy of the system is built on a veneration of the Great Helmsman. In Russia, the Putin leadership praises the achievements of Stalin and aspires to the superpower status of the Soviet Union. A consequence of this ahistorical nostalgia is that in Russia today, 26 percent of those polled by Levada believe that Stalinist repression was necessary; a decade ago, the figure was just 9 percent. Likewise, only 45 percent told Levada that political persecution was a crime; in 2007, the figure was 72 percent.[29]

The communist system was responsible for four of the most destructive episodes of the 20th century: Stalin's purges, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the Cambodian genocide. Add to this the persecutions inflicted on the people of the Baltic states, Eastern Europeans, Cubans, North Koreans, and many others, and the population affected by mass killings and misery swells even further. While few people today admire totalitarian Marxism as a governing system, there is a reluctance to reject it with the same moral clarity as in assessments of Nazism. Scholars, not to mention political figures, who express even modest admiration for Hitler are immediately and properly condemned. As long as Stalin and Mao, two of history's worst mass murderers, escape similar opprobrium in their own countries, a reckoning with historical truth and an understanding of its lessons will be postponed.

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## Chapter 5

# The Rise of 'Illiberal Democracy'

In July 2014, Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán gave what has come to be known as his "illiberal democracy" speech before an ethnic Hungarian audience in Băile Tuşnad, Romania.[1] Several points in his remarks are worth noting:

- Orbán urged his listeners to no longer regard the 1989 triumph over communism as the reference point for developments in Hungary. Instead of measuring progress from the transition from dictatorship and foreign domination to elections, civil liberties, and sovereignty, Orbán said Hungary should adopt a new point of departure, the onset of the global financial crisis in 2008, which also marked the European Union's greatest setback.
- He cited U.S. president Barack Obama and various unnamed sources on the West's weakness, including an "internationally recognized analyst" who wrote that liberal values today "embody corruption, sex, and violence."
- He suggested that in the future it would be systems that were "not Western, not liberal, not liberal democracies, and perhaps not even democracies" that would create successful and competitive societies. He asserted that "the stars of the international analysts today are Singapore, China, India, Russia, and Turkey."
- In a passage devoted to the obstacles facing his own political party, Fidesz, as it seeks to build an alternative to liberalism, Orbán singled out civil society and the nongovernmental sector. Civil society critics, he insisted, "are not nongovernmental organizations" but "paid political activists who are attempting to enforce foreign interests here in Hungary." (In a separate speech in early 2016, he referred to "hordes of implacable human rights warriors" who "feel an unquenchable desire to lecture and accuse us."[2])

In this relatively short address, Orbán neatly summarized most of the key factors that distinguish a fully democratic "Western" system based on liberal values and accountability from what he calls an "Eastern" approach based on a strong state, a weak opposition, and emaciated checks and balances.

> "There is a race underway to find the method of community organization, the state, which is most capable of making a nation and a community internationally competitive.... [T]he most popular topic in thinking today is trying to understand how systems that are not Western, not liberal, not liberal democracies, and perhaps not even democracies, can nevertheless make their nations successful."
>
> **—Viktor Orbán, prime minister of Hungary**
>
> "If we want to organize our national state to replace the liberal state, it is very important that we make it clear that we are not opposing nongovernmental organizations here, and it is not nongovernmental organizations who are moving against us, but paid political activists who are attempting to enforce foreign interests here in Hungary."
>
> **—Viktor Orbán**

First, his exhortation to no longer regard the events of 1989 as a seminal, even sacred, juncture in Hungarian history is noteworthy given Orbán's biography. While he often cites his own role in the anticommunist struggle and describes himself as a freedom fighter, he now regards 1989—so redolent of liberal values, ideas about individual freedom, and democratic solidarity—as an intellectual impediment to his plans for a Hungary that is skeptical of such ideals and of European integration.

Second, Orbán included full-blown dictatorships (Russia and China) in the roster of governments he admires, along with quasi-democratic illiberal states (Turkey and Singapore) and one genuine, if inconsistent, democracy (India).

Third, he signaled his support for majoritarianism, with its disdain for checks and balances and civil society, as opposed to the values of pluralism that are enshrined in liberal democratic practice.

The message here is important. For many, illiberalism's defining feature is intolerance toward minority groups: the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community, Roma, Muslims, refugees and migrants of all sorts. But in Hungary and elsewhere, illiberal government signifies something much more comprehensive than the prime minister asserting that "every single migrant poses a public security and terror risk,"[3] and that refugees bring "gangs hunting down our women and daughters"[4]—two of Orbán's more incendiary declarations.

The Hungarian leader is instead telling us that illiberalism involves a wholesale rejection of liberal values and democratic norms, with all that this implies for politics and governance. Fidesz's "reform" efforts have been less concerned with the repression of unpopular minorities than with the creation of a system in which the institutions of pluralism are hollowed out and the ruling party's dominance is assured over the long term.

Having come to office with a two-thirds parliamentary majority in 2010, Orbán was able to rewrite the constitution without the consent of the opposition. He rushed through a series of constitutional changes, cardinal laws (requiring a two-thirds vote to change or remove), and regular laws that had the effect of turning the Hungarian political system upside down.

Among the steps taken by Fidesz after its 2010 triumph:

- The Constitutional Court was overhauled so that Fidesz appointees became a majority and its jurisdiction was narrowed.[5]
- The government eliminated the independent Fiscal Council, responsible for overseeing budgetary policy, then replaced it with a new council under Fidesz control.
- A new election law created gerrymandered legislative districts that were favorable to Fidesz.[6]
- Orbán gave voting rights to ethnic Hungarians in neighboring countries, who were likely to support Fidesz.[7]
- The government created a new press authority whose chair and members were Fidesz loyalists. The authority was given wide-ranging powers to fine media outlets.[8]

While the measures listed above were some of the most notorious of the Fidesz initiatives, in some cases drawing critical attention from European oversight bodies, they represent only part of the campaign that has transformed Hungary into a full-fledged illiberal democracy.

Perhaps the more far-reaching measures introduced under Orban have been in the economic sphere. Since 2010, Hungary has evolved into a crony capitalist state *par excellence*. But unlike in outright kleptocracies such as Russia, where the regime itself is organized around the plunder of public wealth by the ruling clique, Orbán has used state laws and procurement contracts to create a wealthy Fidesz-affiliated business constituency that can finance political campaigns, reward party supporters, and operate friendly media outlets. The enrichment of cronies is less an objective in itself than a means of fortifying the dominant political party against any future challenge from the opposition.[9]

While Orbán is highly unpopular in European liberal circles, he has gained a following among conservatives in both Europe and the United States. At a 2015 congressional subcommittee hearing in Washington, one Republican legislator after another defended the Fidesz government, often in ways that demonstrated blatant ignorance of political conditions in Budapest.[10] Conservatives praise Orbán for his commitment to traditional values and decisive leadership, but they ignore the course he has set for the economy.

Since taking power in 2010, the prime minister has violated practically every principle of the free market and prudent economic stewardship. Were Hungary a developing state in Latin America or Africa, donor governments would likely have imposed special conditions on foreign assistance given the overt acts of corruption and cronyism that Fidesz has embraced as a matter of public policy. This includes a pattern of awarding government contracts to businesses with Fidesz ties, the adoption of special laws to benefit Fidesz supporters in the business community, the use of punitive taxation against foreign-owned corporations, tax concessions for corporations controlled by Fidesz loyalists, and the granting of control over nationalized sectors of the economy to Fidesz supporters.

In its relentless drive to hand economic power to its allies, Fidesz resembles the old-style political machines, with their vast patronage networks, that presided over American cities a half-century ago. Fidesz is apparently seeking to ensure that rival parties will never have access to the funds or influence necessary to unseat the incumbent government.

### Is Orbán a Central European version of Putin?

Orbán's domestic critics have often compared his governing style to that of Russian president Vladimir Putin. On the surface, the comparison seems unfair. Hungary is still rated Free by Freedom House. It still has genuine opposition parties, however weak, in parliament, a relatively unfettered civil society sector, freedom of assembly, and other civil liberties. Hungary has also been spared the routine violence that marks Russian politics.[11]

But Orbán also began his current tenure in an environment very different from the Russia inherited by Putin. Hungary had been a successful, if flawed, democracy for two decades before Orbán took office in 2010. It was a member of the European Union (EU) and subject to that bloc's norms and regulations. It was also a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). For Hungarians, the events of 1989 led to democratic liberties and freedom from foreign domination. For Russia, 1989 and 1991 meant the loss of a vast empire and the beginning of a decade of political and economic upheaval.

Given their different contexts, the striking feature in a Putin-Orbán comparison is the similarities. The following are some of the more obvious:

- Both have repeatedly expressed disdain for "Western" liberal values.
- Both have employed a combination of control over state broadcasters and crony ownership of the private press to dominate the mainstream media, though Hungary's environment remains notably more free than Russia's.
- Both have hollowed out the institutions that provide oversight and transparency regarding actions by the executive branch.
- Both have made clear their dislike for civil society organizations that pursue reformist or human rights missions. While Orbán has yet to enact Russian-style laws to declare such groups "foreign agents" or ban them as "undesirable," Fidesz has announced the intention to introduce parliamentary legislation designed to harass NGOs and curb their funding.[12]
- Both have seized political opportunities offered by the presence of ethnic compatriots in surrounding countries. Putin has exploited supposed discrimination against ethnic Russians and certain other minorities in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and the Baltic states as justification for military intervention or hostile propaganda. Orbán has brought nearby Hungarian minorities into his political coalition by giving them the right to vote in Hungarian national elections and making it even easier for them to cast ballots than it is for Hungarian citizens who are temporarily working in Europe or elsewhere.[13]
- As a matter of high priority, both Orbán and Putin have secured domination over the judiciary with the goal of removing its role as a check on their power.

### 'Law and Justice' in Poland

Like Hungary, Poland was until recently regarded as one of the chief success stories from the wave of democratization that accompanied the end of the Cold War. Poland's democratic institutions were imperfect, and the economic gains that were made possible by a rapid changeover to free-market policies were spread unevenly among the Polish people. But the achievements seemed to outweigh the deficiencies. The country's rate of growth was impressive by European standards; it was one of the few EU member states to emerge relatively unscathed from the financial crisis of 2008. Its leaders exercised influence within the EU and NATO, and enjoyed global respect.

According to the leaders of the archconservative Law and Justice (PiS) party, however, Poland was a deeply troubled society whose system of government was in need of a top-to-bottom overhaul.

Ahead of the 2015 elections, PiS appropriated a vocabulary similar to that of Fidesz in its 2010 campaign. It depicted the center-right government as the architect of a failed economy. It denounced mainstream leaders as more comfortable with the cosmopolitan liberal values of Brussels and Berlin than with the traditional Christian morality of rural Poland. And PiS suggested that the liberal establishment that had governed for most of the postcommunist period had "stolen" the democratic revolution from the Polish people by failing to carry out a proper purge of communists and their collaborators.[14] PiS even initiated a campaign to sully the reputation of Lech Walesa, leader of the anticommunist Solidarity movement in the 1980s, by accusing him of working as a communist agent.[15]

Since coming to power with a parliamentary majority in October 2015, PiS has embarked on a course of change that places it solidly in the illiberal camp, with many of the initiatives mirroring those enacted by Fidesz in Hungary.

As in Hungary, an initial focus for the new government was securing control of the Constitutional Tribunal. PiS has moved to pack the court with its own appointees, using tactics that are blatantly illegal according to Polish law and which have drawn criticism both from the EU and the United States.[16] However, party leader Jarosław Kaczyński, who holds a seat in the parliament but no formal government position, has much greater ambitions to refashion Poland along culturally conservative and politically illiberal lines.

The media are a major target. The government quickly asserted control over public broadcasters and purged them of journalists whom it regarded as loyal to the opposition.[17] PiS officials have also spoken of the need to "restore balance" to the private media by, among other things, taking measures to reduce foreign ownership of key outlets. Already, the new government has used its power over the allocation of state advertising to reward friendly media and punish its critics.[18]

The new government has involved itself in a debate over history. It proposed a law that would punish those who use the phrase "Polish death camps" to refer to sites established by Nazi Germany in Poland during World War II.[19] PiS leaders have demonized scholars, such as the eminent historian Jan Gross, who have published research on the participation of Poles in the persecution of Jews during the war. Gross was questioned by a prosecutor on his research, and there was talk of rescinding an award he had received.[20] The government threatened to withdraw support from the Museum of the Second World War, a project that was near completion in Gdansk and enjoyed strong support from such highly regarded scholars as Timothy Snyder and Norman Davies. PiS complained that the museum focused on all victims of the conflict rather than on specifically Polish suffering.[21]

Perhaps the most unsettling measure enacted under the PiS government is an ambitious law that, in the name of counterterrorism, gives the security services sweeping powers over telecommunications and personal information. With this legislation, Poland became one of the first countries in the democratic world to embrace the use of telecommunications shutdowns in a particular area, a measure that smacks of digital repression.[22]

The law gives Poland's domestic intelligence agency unrestricted access to personal data without approval from a court or any other body. Tax reports, vehicle information, insurance information, financial statements, and other records are all now available to the intelligence service of a government that has made a point of naming party loyalists to key security positions. The legislation also grants the domestic security agency the ability to shut down websites. The action can be reviewed by a court within five days, but this is far from reassuring in light of the government's efforts to exert political control over the judiciary.

The legislation is ostensibly needed to counter acts of terrorism. But Poland has not experienced a terrorist act since 1939, and has one of the smallest populations of Muslim immigrants—often perceived as a risk factor for terrorism—in Europe. Furthermore, the law is written in vague terms that give the government great latitude to decide what is and is not an act of terrorism.[23] Given the PiS leadership's penchant for smearing its political adversaries as traitors to the Polish nation,[24] it is not inconceivable that such a law could one day be used against the opposition.

### Illiberalism's preconditions

The triumph of illiberal governments in countries like Hungary and Poland raises the question of whether the phenomenon will spread further. Might illiberalism come to dominate a society with much deeper democratic roots—Austria, France, or even the United States?

From a practical standpoint, illiberal forces are unlikely to transform countries where the political divide is relatively equal and the established parties have strong, loyal followings.

It is only when the mainstream parties suffer catastrophic electoral setbacks that illiberal challengers can rush into the breach.

The Socialist Party had governed Hungary for much of the period since 1989, but it rapidly lost credibility due to economic mismanagement and political dishonesty. It was devastated by the 2010 election results, and has failed to reemerge as a viable opposition entity. In Poland, the center-right Civic Platform had been the dominant force until the 2015 PiS victory. It achieved economic success and gained respect in Brussels, but lost the support of the working class, the provinces, and all those who felt bypassed by globalization. Similarly, the elitist secular parties that had ruled Turkey for most of the 20th century were swept aside by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Justice and Development Party, which appealed to a rising Islamist middle class. And in Venezuela, it took only a few years in power for Hugo Chávez to win over the country's poor and marginalize the conservative mainstream parties that had led the country for decades.

A second precondition for the emergence of illiberal regimes is a fundamental weakness in democratic institutions beyond the political sphere, including the media, civil society, anticorruption agencies, and the judiciary. In many newer democracies, these checks and balances remain fragile: It is widely assumed that whoever controls the parliament will also come to dominate the judiciary and the security services, and the media are vulnerable to intimidation or partisan capture.

Illiberalism seems less likely to gain traction in the United States because the courts, for example, are proudly independent, and freedom of the press is firmly protected by statute and constitutional jurisprudence. But if illiberal forces have sufficient political will and the defenders of democratic institutions lack conviction and public support, anything is possible. Polls have shown that popular faith in Congress and the Supreme Court are at historic lows. A growing number of Americans question the effectiveness of representative democracy and ask whether it would be better to let the president make decisions unencumbered by the legislative branch. An astonishing one in six Americans believe it would be acceptable to have the army rule. And with each passing generation, a smaller share of U.S. citizens believe that living under a democracy is important.[25]

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## Chapter 6

# Flacks and Friends

Did the Russian government attempt to surreptitiously influence the 2016 U.S. presidential election in Donald Trump's favor? The answer to that question may never be definitively known. There is, nevertheless, a critical mass of evidence that Kremlin-allied forces were responsible for hacking into the Democratic National Committee's computers, stealing millions of files, and turning the information over to WikiLeaks, which in turn circulated it to the media. Some may find the evidence unsatisfactory. But given Russia's well-established record of cyberwarfare, previously directed at neighboring states like Estonia and Ukraine, and the Russian regime's dislike for the Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton, there is ample reason to treat charges of Russian culpability as strongly credible.

Another body of evidence can be found in Russia's record of involvement in the internal politics of a number of countries in Europe, including European Union (EU) member states. In fact, under Vladimir Putin, Russia has repeatedly interfered in the affairs of European states in ways that the Kremlin would regard as intolerable if Russia were the target.

Russian involvement is usually camouflaged so as to ensure a degree of deniability, but the disguise is sometimes rather thin. In late 2014, France's far-right National Front party, led by Marine Le Pen, secured a €9 million loan from a Russian bank with indirect ties to the government in what many interpreted as a bet by Putin on the future of French politics. Le Pen has subsequently spoken favorably of Putin and criticized the sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU.[1] She has even called for a strategic alliance with Russia and proposed a pan-European grouping that would include Russia while leaving out the United States. By 2016, the National Front was seeking more funding that would enable it to participate on an equal footing with mainstream parties in the 2017 presidential contest.[2]

> "As an operator, but not as a human being, I would say Putin. The way he played the whole Syria thing. Brilliant."
>
> **—Nigel Farage, on the world leader he most admires**
>
> "I admire his cool head. Because there is a cold war being waged against him by the EU at the behest of the United States.... I admire that he has managed to restore pride and contentment to a great nation that had been humiliated and persecuted for 70 years."
>
> **—Marine Le Pen**
>
> "[Putin] makes a decision and he executes it, quickly. And then everybody reacts. That's what you call a leader."
>
> **—Rudy Giuliani**

The 2014 loan came just months after the National Front helped provide a veneer of legitimacy to Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea. Aymeric Chauprade, a Le Pen adviser who once called Russia "the hope of the world against new totalitarianism," participated in an observer mission to monitor the Crimean referendum on secession from Ukraine and union with Russia. The mission was arranged by a pro-Moscow organization called the Eurasian Observatory for Elections and Democracy, and consisted largely of politicians from a variety of European far-right parties, including Hungary's Jobbik and Austria's Freedom Party. The vote, held under Russian military occupation, was widely regarded as falling well short of international standards. However, the Eurasian Observatory delegation gave the referendum an enthusiastic thumbs-up.[3]

Moscow has paid considerable attention to evolving political developments in Central and Eastern Europe. Despite their relatively recent histories of Soviet subjugation and communist rule, a number of these countries have seen the rise of populist or nationalist parties that express admiration for or affinity with Putin's regime. Meanwhile, mainstream parties have developed attitudes toward Russia that are notable for their ambivalence, including on the pivotal issue of the Kremlin's invasion of Ukraine.

In some countries, Russia has made progress among both far-right nationalists and more traditional conservative parties. In Hungary, for example, Moscow has a reliable ally in Jobbik and a business partner in the ruling Fidesz party, which has been critical of the EU's economic sanctions.[4] The Hungarian parliament conducted an investigation into allegations that the Kremlin was helping to finance Jobbik. There were also charges that a Jobbik member of the European Parliament was a Russian agent. Gábor Vona, the chairman of Jobbik, has embraced the idea of Eurasianism and speculated that Hungary could serve as a "bridge" between Europe and Asia.

At the intergovernmental level, Russia in 2015 provided Hungary with a $10.8 billion loan to expand the Paks nuclear power plant, a facility that supplies 40 percent of the country's electricity. The project was to have been put out for open bidding until Hungarian officials abruptly decided to accept the proposal from Russia's state nuclear energy firm—financed by the Kremlin's loan—without competition.[5] Some believe that the Paks deal is meant to encourage the Fidesz government to continue its support for an EU policy that would be more sympathetic toward Russian interests.[6] While the Fidesz leader, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, has been cautious in public statements about Putin and Russia, he did identify Russia as one of several countries with illiberal or authoritarian governments that would provide the models for global political development in the future, as opposed to supposedly declining powers like the United States and the EU's founding members.[7]

The Russian government has also developed friendly ties to parties in Slovakia. Marian Kotleba, leader of the far-right People's Party–Our Slovakia, supported Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovych in his decision to reject an association agreement with the EU and pursue closer ties with Russia instead—a decision that ultimately led to Yanukovych's fall from power in February 2014. Slovakia's left-leaning populist prime minister, Robert Fico, has publicly expressed his lack of enthusiasm for the EU sanctions imposed on Russia following the invasion of Ukraine.[8]

In other countries, there is evidence that Moscow has bankrolled environmentalist protests against the development of local hydrocarbon resources, which would reduce European dependence on Russian oil and natural gas. In 2012, street protests compelled Bulgaria's prime minister, Boyko Borisov, to cancel contracts with Chevron to explore shale-oil sites in the country. Those who suspect the Kremlin's involvement in the demonstrations point to a €20 million media campaign that was handled by companies with Russian ties, as well as enthusiastic support from Ataka, a far-right political party that is aggressively pro-Russia.[9]

### Russia and the right

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union could count on the uncritical support of a network of left-wing parties and personalities in the democratic world. Some were formally communist; others were independent leftists or part of what was called the peace camp, which argued that the West, especially the United States, shared responsibility with the Soviets for the world's political tensions, and therefore chose a path of political neutrality. In the Cold War's later years, a growing collection of business interests encouraged détente between the Soviet Union and the United States due to the economic opportunities it would offer.

Under Putin, Russia has formed its alliances on a strictly nonideological basis. Russia has built close diplomatic ties with Venezuela, governed by a socialist movement; Iran, an authoritarian system under the rule of Shiite Muslim clerics; Syria, a dictatorship with nominally Arab nationalist views; and China, a formally communist regime devoted to state-led capitalism. The interests that draw these governments together are a common hostility to democratic norms, a need for allies to block criticism and sanctions at international bodies, a fear of "color revolutions" and the potential consequences of democracy-promotion projects backed by foreign donors, and an adversarial relationship with the United States.

In its dealings with European political parties or movements, Russia adheres to a similar policy of ideological indifference, focusing instead on those with an interest in disrupting Europe's political establishment and weakening its unity. Thus Putin has courted leftist parties like Syriza, which leads the current government of Greece and opposes austerity measures imposed by the EU. Nigel Farage, former leader of the anti-EU United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), and Nick Griffin, head of the far-right British National Party, have both praised Putin for his leadership qualities; but so has Alex Salmond of the Scottish National Party, which seeks Scottish independence within the EU and supports social democratic policies.

For the most part, however, Russia's allies in democratic countries are found on the political right. A Swedish journalist who examined votes in the European Parliament reported that right-leaning Euroskeptic

## Putin's Foreign Admirers

"Putin decides what he wants to do, and he does it in half a day, right? He decided he had to go to their parliament—he went to their parliament, he got permission in 15 minutes.... He makes a decision and he executes it, quickly. Then everybody reacts. That's what you call a leader."

**—Rudolph Giuliani, former New York City mayor**

"In my opinion, Putin is right on these issues.... Obviously, he may be wrong about many things, but he has taken a stand to protect his nation's children from the damaging effects of any gay and lesbian agenda."

**—Franklin Graham, American Christian evangelist**

"Putin is certainly a pure democrat, but with an authoritarian style. Russia is a great state. The president has been endowed with great power by the constitution.... Putin tries to keep Russian interests from his perspective."

**—Heinz-Christian Strache, leader of Freedom Party of Austria**

"As an operator, but not as a human being, I would say Putin [is the most admirable world leader]. The way he played the whole Syria thing. Brilliant.'"

**—Nigel Farage, former leader of UK Independence Party**

"I admire his cool head. Because there is a cold war being waged against him by the EU at the behest of the United States, which is defending its own interests. I admire that he has managed to restore pride and contentment to a great nation that had been humiliated and persecuted for 70 years."

**—Marine Le Pen, leader of France's National Front**

"Between Putin and [Italian prime minister Matteo] Renzi I will always choose Putin. I wish Putin tomorrow morning became chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy.... Punishment against Russia [through sanctions] is a stupid measure, which will cost us 5 billion euros. If there is a part of Ukraine, which wants to be Russia, I don't see why not."

**—Matteo Salvini, national secretary of Italy's Northern League**

parties supported Russian interests on a select group of issues. The most reliable pro-Russian party was Dutch politician Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom, followed by France's National Front, Italy's Northern League, the Swedish Democrats, and UKIP.[10]

Putin and other Kremlin officials speak of Russia as a successful example of interreligious harmony, boast of government policies to ensure fair treatment for Russia's large Muslim population, and denounce those who brought down Yanukovych's government in Ukraine as fascists and pogromists. Yet when it comes to potential allies in Europe, it makes no difference to the Kremlin whether a party has views that are racist, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, or even openly fascist. Russia welcomes the support of parties like Jobbik, with its history of anti-Semitism and contempt for Hungary's Romany population, and has no qualms about right-wing parties that speak of Muslims as criminals and rapists.

For Russia, the payoff from this strategy is a network of parties that identify with the Kremlin's hatred of liberal values, support Russia on critical foreign policy issues, and praise Putin as a strong leader. While some of these parties are still marginal forces in domestic politics, a growing number are regarded as legitimate contenders, especially since an uncontrolled influx of refugees and an increase in terrorist attacks dented public trust in mainstream parties. Even if Russia remains unpopular in most European countries, the fact that increasingly influential political figures laud Putin for his energy, decisiveness, and eagerness to challenge liberal orthodoxies is regarded as a gain for Moscow. As these parties acquire a share of governing power in EU states, the prospects for a recognition of the Crimea annexation and the abandonment of economic sanctions improve significantly.

The benefit for European far-right parties is less clear. Though they claim to be champions of national sovereignty, they are aligning themselves with a Russian leader who has sought to dominate neighboring states and who regularly invokes his country's imperial and Soviet past. Putin has refused to apologize for Russia's historical subjugation of Central and Eastern Europe. He has defended the Soviet Union's occupations as necessary to secure its national interests, and denounced the movement of former Soviet bloc countries to join the EU and seek protection in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Far-right parties apparently see Putin not as a threat to national security, but as an exemplar of their own nationalist values. Like him, they hope to build a strong national state without regard for international agreements, domestic checks and balances, or fundamental human rights. Putin's contempt for democracy carries no stigma among these parties, for which elections and civil liberties are purely instrumental. While Le Pen, Wilders, and their ilk need elections as a means of gaining power and a free press to convey their arguments, they are hostile to the extension of rights to immigrants and minorities, and unenthusiastic about independent courts that might block their initiatives. To the extent that the EU enforces democratic norms in its region, Putin and Europe's far right have a common enemy in Brussels.

### Flacks for autocrats

Paul Manafort, a Washington lobbyist and consultant, had a long career of work for leading Republicans, including presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan. But by the time he became Donald Trump's campaign chairman in 2016, Manafort was best known for his work on behalf of foreign political leaders, including several with distinctly autocratic pedigrees: Ferdinand Marcos, the strongman of the Philippines until 1986; Mobutu Sese Seko, the kleptocratic dictator of what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo; Sani Abacha, a Nigerian military ruler; and Viktor Yanukovych, president of Ukraine from 2010 to 2014, when he was forced to abandon the presidency and flee to Russia in the wake of nationwide protests.

Manafort's work to dress up the images of Marcos and Mobutu stood out at a time when American consultants seldom represented dictators or authoritarians. In the 1980s, U.S. political operatives with experience in major campaigns were expanding their clientele to include foreign governments and political parties, though usually in democratic settings.[11]

By 2005, when Manafort signed on to work with Yanukovych, political consultants, public relations specialists, and blue-chip law firms were earning fees paid by a majority of the world's autocracies, dictatorships, and illiberal regimes. Some, especially Middle Eastern monarchies, are American allies. But others are hostile to democracy and regard the United States—and often the EU—as adversaries. The lobbyists and spin masters they employ are not located exclusively in the United States. Authoritarians with the requisite means and interests have hired representatives in London and Brussels as well as Washington and New York.

Lawyers and consultants often represent dictatorships indirectly, through state-owned enterprises. A number of China's state businesses have hired legal and political consultants in major democracies, as have state energy corporations in oil-rich countries like Azerbaijan, Venezuela, and Angola.

But authoritarian governments generally seek the assistance of global public relations companies in the wake of repressive crackdowns at home or acts of aggression against neighbors. During Manafort's relatively brief tenure with the Trump campaign, it emerged that several American firms had been contracted to discourage Congress from criticizing the Yanukovych government for its jailing of Yanukovych's 2010 presidential campaign rival, Yuliya Tymoshenko. That effort failed, as members of Congress and the American media made Tymoshenko's fate a crucial criterion in their assessment of Yanukovych's record.[12] Manafort had more success in his earlier work to prepare Yanukovych for his candidacy in 2010. Ukrainian observers credited the American adviser with smoothing Yanukovych's rough edges, convincing him to stay on message, and reminding him that it was important to assure U.S. and European audiences that he was committed to democracy and the fight against corruption.[13]

In 2016, Reuters reported that five global public relations firms had competed for a contract to improve China's image abroad. The planned campaign would presumably repair reputational damage caused by the Chinese government's intensifying domestic repression, its aggressive territorial policies in the South China Sea, and a push by Chinese companies to acquire crucial assets in democratic countries. The firms that participated in the public relations audition were Hill+Knowlton, Ogilvy, Ketchum, FleishmanHillard, and Edelman. According to the Reuters account, the firms were asked to give a presentation "on China's most pressing image problems and demonstrate their expertise on managing new forms of media."[14]

Several other examples of consultants in the pay of authoritarians are worth mention:

- Until rather recently, Azerbaijan was represented by a battalion of lawyers, political operatives, and public relations specialists in Washington, London, and Brussels. While some worked for the national energy company, others were hired directly by the government to explain away the regime's miserable human rights record to the administration, members of Congress, think tanks, and other opinion makers in the United States.[15]

- Bahrain spent over $32 million between 2011, when political protests broke out, and 2015 on political consultants in the United States and Britain. During that period, the country experienced an explosion in the number of political prisoners as the Sunni Muslim monarchy carried out an often violent persecution of the Shiite majority.[16]

- Despite their efforts to hollow out Venezuela's democratic infrastructure and their virulent anti-Americanism, the late Hugo Chávez and his successor, Nicolás Maduro, had no difficulty in finding American consultants who would represent the interests of their government and the national oil company.[17]

- Richard Burt, a former U.S. diplomat in Republican administrations, earned hundreds of thousands of dollars promoting a critical Russian energy project while also helping to shape candidate Trump's foreign policy positions. According to Politico, Burt received $365,000 in the first half of 2016 for lobbying on behalf of Nord Stream II, a Russian-backed pipeline plan that would deliver more natural gas directly to Western and Central Europe via the Baltic Sea, bypassing Ukraine and Belarus. At the same time, Burt was helping to write a major Trump foreign policy address. That speech, among other things, called for greater cooperation with Russia.[18]

- In early 2017, an Egyptian intelligence agency hired two Washington public relations firms to lobby on the country's behalf and boost its image. Filings with the Department of Justice showed the General Intelligence Service hired Weber Shandwick and Cassidy and Associates in a deal worth $1.8 million annually.[19]

- Michael Flynn, who served briefly as President Trump's national security adviser, did lucrative consulting work for a firm with ties to the government of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan before and immediately after the 2016 election. Among other things, Flynn wrote an op-ed that urged the American government to expel Fethullah Gülen, a controversial cleric who was accused by the Turkish government of masterminding the 2016 coup attempt. Flynn's consulting firm was paid $535,000 for work between September 9 and November 14.[20]

### Balance sheet

Even as they declare their disdain for liberal values, modern authoritarians take maximum advantage of the freedoms that are embedded in democratic systems. Russia, China, Venezuela, Iran, and others have established television networks that broadcast beyond their borders to countries around the globe. Viewers in the United States or Europe can watch Russia's RT or China Central Television on their local cable systems. Pro-Beijing tycoons have gained a strong foothold in the Hong Kong press landscape, and Chinese businesses are making substantial investments in Hollywood studios and production companies.

Russia would not tolerate a foreign power providing funding for an opposition political party. Yet it helps to finance France's National Front and quite possibly Hungary's Jobbik. In 2013, Greenpeace activists attempted to scale a Russian offshore drilling platform as part of a protest against Arctic oil exploration; the authorities arrested the protesters, charged them with piracy, and held them for two months before their release.[21] Yet at the same time, the Kremlin was allegedly fostering anti-fracking demonstrations in parts of Central and Eastern Europe.[22] Russia organizes bogus election-monitoring missions that give a stamp of approval to polling in Crimea and other authoritarian settings, while effectively preventing legitimate election observation teams from functioning on its own soil.

Authoritarian states also rent the services of former government officials and members of Congress, powerful lawyers, and experienced political image-makers to persuade skeptical audiences that they share the interests of democracies. These lobbyists work to advance the economic goals of their clients' energy companies and other businesses, but they also burnish the reputations of regimes that have been sullied by the jailing of dissidents or opposition leaders, the shuttering of media outlets, or violent attacks on peaceful demonstrators.

Is the money that authoritarians allocate for image beautification well spent? Some campaigns have been more successful than others, but autocracies that hire well-known former cabinet secretaries or elected officials to defend or deny their acts of repression often fail to sway either the public or the policy community in the United States. If democratic leaders have not mounted adequate responses to such repression, it is generally because of other strategic concerns or simple neglect, not because lobbyists have persuaded them that the regime in question is benevolent and just.

Authoritarian efforts to change governments, as opposed to perceptions, may ultimately prove more rewarding. Russia's wager on the rise of friendly European populist parties already seems to be paying off. After Britain's vote to withdraw from the EU and the triumph of Donald Trump in the United States, the prospect of radical shifts in global politics can no longer be dismissed as unthinkable.

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## Chapter 7

# Bullying the Neighbors: Frozen Conflicts, the Near Abroad, and Other Innovations

Vladimir Putin's publicists have used the phrase "sovereign democracy" to describe the political system that evolved in Russia under his leadership.[1] In practice, however, Putin's regime respects neither democracy nor sovereignty.

Sovereign democracy bears no more resemblance to the unmodified original than did previous variants: guided democracy, managed democracy, people's democracy. Nor does sovereign democracy represent a genuine commitment to the notion of national sovereignty, as countries on the Russian periphery will attest. On repeated occasions, Putin has demonstrated a readiness to intervene in the affairs of nearby countries by fomenting ethnic discontent, undermining the economy, or grabbing territory.

Putin has in effect set down a doctrine of limited sovereignty for Russia's neighbors, especially those that were part of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin's tactics are meant to keep these countries fearful and off balance. The instruments of choice range from the nonviolent, such as destabilizing propaganda and economic pressure, to the lethally aggressive, such as proxy insurgencies and outright invasion.

The following are the main techniques employed by the Kremlin to influence the actions of its neighbors:

1. **Civil society and 'traditional values':** The Kremlin has funded and encouraged pro-Russian civil society organizations in neighboring states to build influence among local populations and promote its policies and interests. The Russian government has also exploited its partnership with the Orthodox Church to present itself as a champion of "traditional values," and to portray opponents—including human rights activists and European democracies—as purveyors of hedonism and immorality.[2]

2. **Propaganda offensives:** The Kremlin has made powerful use of Russian-language media, especially state-controlled television stations, to spread disinformation and foment discontent among ethnic Russians in the Baltics, Ukraine, Moldova, and elsewhere.

> "Certainly within the next four to five years [Russia] will have the ability to conduct operations in eastern Ukraine and pressure the Baltics and pressure Georgia and do other things, without having to do a full mobilization."
>
> **—U.S. Lieutenant General Ben Hodges**

3. **The energy weapon:** At various times during Putin's tenure, Russia has sought to use its oil and natural gas exports as a means of disciplining Ukraine and other neighbors. It has raised and lowered prices for political reasons, abruptly halted deliveries in the dead of winter, and manipulated pipeline routes and investments to drive a wedge between Germany and other European powers on one side and the Baltic states and Ukraine on the other.

4. **The trade weapon:** Russia has invoked dubious health concerns and other pretexts to block the import of products from countries whose governments displease Putin, including Georgia, Moldova, and Poland, as well as the European Union (EU) as a bloc.[3]

5. **Cyberwarfare:** Russian-backed hackers are widely believed responsible for a powerful 2007 cyberattack on government websites in Estonia in the wake of a controversy over the removal of a war memorial. Other countries in the region have since suffered similar attacks, particularly Ukraine following the 2014 ouster of President Viktor Yanukovych and Russia's invasion of Crimea and the Donbas.

6. **Military threats:** In the wake of the Ukraine invasion and subsequent sanctions, the Russian military launched a series of military exercises on its borders with the Baltic states and intensified more distant patrols that tested the readiness of a number of European navies and air forces.

7. **Military invasions:** Russian forces poured into Georgia through its two breakaway territories, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, during a brief conflict in 2008. In 2014, Russian troops occupied Crimea, oversaw a stage-managed referendum on annexation there, and unofficially entered eastern Ukraine en masse to support a supposedly indigenous rebellion by ethnic Russian separatists.

8. **Frozen conflicts:** The term "frozen conflict" indicates a condition in which active fighting has ended or subsided but there is no peace agreement beyond a tenuous cease-fire. Under Putin, Russia has perpetuated or created frozen conflicts that affect Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Georgia, and Ukraine. In each case, the Kremlin retains for itself the capacity to subdue or escalate tensions as needed to maximize its political influence over the relevant country.

Moscow applies these tactics according to its objectives for a particular country or region. For nearby EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states, the goal is to remind local political leaders that Russia can play a disruptive role, and to inject a measure of fear into foreign policy calculations. While the Kremlin holds out the possibility of military invasion as an option, its preference thus far has been to promote instability and uncertainty.

Russia's message is meant both for the target country and for its more distant allies. The target country is effectively warned that challenging Russian interests could provoke serious reprisals. For allies like the United States, Britain, or Germany, the message is that solidarity with the target country could entail a heavy cost, including the possibility of a shooting war in which they are obliged to defend small NATO member states like Estonia and Latvia.

### The 'Russian world'

A favorite theme of Kremlin propaganda is the so-called Russian world, a cultural or civilizational space that extends beyond Russia's political borders. This deliberately flexible and nebulous concept suggests that Russia claims the right to intervene wherever its perceived brethren—ethnic Russians, other Russian speakers, Orthodox Christians—are under threat.

Putin has spoken of one million Russians cut adrift by the collapse of the Soviet Union. He has said it is his obligation to protect these people, and he has tried to appeal to them through culture, history, and the media. His press spokesman, Dmitriy Peskov, has said that "Russia is the country that underlies the Russian world, and the president of that country is Putin; Putin precisely is the main guarantor of the security of the Russian world."[4]

In 2014, amid Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Putin dredged up the tsarist-era term Novorossiya to describe a large swath of southeastern Ukraine that he hinted might be annexed. Suddenly, the Novorossiya idea began appearing in Russian media, complete with maps, while Russian-backed separatists moved to write the "history" of the region into textbooks.[5] Eventually Putin dropped Novorossiya from his speeches, having successfully stoked fears that the Ukraine conflict could widen beyond Crimea and the Donbas. The international community was then apparently meant to feel grateful that Russian forces did not press their attack any further.

In practice, Putin has invoked the idea of a greater Russian world to intimidate only countries that have embraced democracy and seek closer ties to the EU and NATO. He has shown little interest in ethnic Russians and other residents in Central Asian states like Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, even though they suffer under political conditions that Freedom House ranks as among the least free in the world.[6]

### The case of Estonia

Throughout its history, Estonia has been fought over by Russia and European powers to the west. During World War II, it was occupied by the Red Army and forcibly annexed to the Soviet Union. Its elites and intellectuals were murdered or deported to the Soviet gulag, and the Estonian people endured over four decades of Sovietization and Russification, including a policy of encouraging Russian speakers to relocate to Estonia.

The country regained its independence in 1991 with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. From early on, relations between the ethnic Estonian majority and the sizeable ethnic Russian minority have been difficult. Estonia has adopted citizenship laws that require many ethnic Russians to pass an Estonian language test, and they complain of being treated as second-class citizens. In opinion surveys, however, Russian speakers show little enthusiasm for becoming citizens of Russia, and have indicated an appreciation for the access to Europe that citizenship in an EU country confers.[7]

There are an estimated 300,000 ethnic Russians in Estonia. Approximately three-quarters get their news through Russian television stations. On a daily basis, they are exposed to propagandistic programs in which the EU is demonized, NATO is treated as an aggressor, the democracies on Russia's borders are presented as enemies, and the annexation of Crimea is hailed as a milestone in the rebuilding of a great Russian state.[8]

By exploiting the tensions that already exist between Estonia's ethnic communities, the Kremlin has sought to turn a complex problem into something combustible. The tendency of Russian speakers and ethnic Estonians to live in parallel universes is exacerbated by Russian propaganda, which depicts the Estonian political leadership as hostile to Russians and as members of a cosmopolitan European elite that promotes sexual degeneracy and cultural radicalism. Moscow also tries to create distrust of the Baltic states among their NATO allies by depicting them as overly emotional, irresponsible, and intent on dragging other countries into a conflict with Russia.

There is no strong evidence that Russian speakers in Estonia are simply embracing the Russian explanation of things. Instead, they tend to reject both Russian and Estonian sources of information. This is in itself a victory of sorts for Russia, since the goal of external Russian propaganda is less to win people over to its way of thinking than to sow confusion and mistrust. Moscow's interests are served so long as Estonian society remains divided. As a report on the integration of Russian speakers in Estonia concluded, "They [ethnic Estonians and Russian speakers] reside in separate information spaces and hold divergent perceptions and perspectives not just about each other, but also about the Estonian state and its history, its threat environment, and its national security policies. Since these two Estonias do not fully trust one another, when security developments put pressure on the country they tend to drift to opposing poles—especially if the factor of Russia is involved."[9]

### A wolf in sheep's clothing

In their campaign to assert control over countries on Russia's periphery, Kremlin officials have not hesitated to use traditional authoritarian methods, up to and including military invasion and the creation or support of proxy insurgents. But they have taken care to defend their efforts in terms meant to appeal to, or at least confuse, democratic audiences.

This is especially the case with propaganda broadcasts. While the Russian government has sought to prevent foreign news services like Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty from reaching the Russian people, it expects its own broadcasts to remain unhindered in neighboring democracies, which are committed to freedom of expression. Thus when Latvian authorities imposed a six-month ban on the Russian television channel Rossiya RTR for inciting ethnic hatred in April 2016, Russian officials called on international watchdog bodies to investigate the incident as a violation of media freedom.[10]

Something similar is at work in the nongovernmental organization (NGO) sector. Moscow has established or supported a series of charities, think tanks, and associations that promote Russian interests, claim to represent Russian minorities, and in some cases advance secessionist causes in the near abroad.[11] The Russian government presumes that these organizations will be allowed to operate without restriction in democracies. Meanwhile, it compelled the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to close down its Russia operations in 2012, and has banned contact between Russian NGOs and foreign organizations that have been placed on its "undesirable" list.

Russia has also used the extensive distribution of passports to draw populations involved in frozen conflicts—or potentially involved in future conflicts—into its orbit, and to justify its meddling in neighboring states. Rather than conquering a foreign people, the Russian authorities convert foreign individuals into Russian citizens, then claim a right to defend them from what had been their own government. Up to 90 percent of those living in Georgia's breakaway region of South Ossetia have Russian passports, which are accessible to anyone who still has Soviet documents or at least one ancestor who was a permanent resident of Russia, among other forms of eligibility.

### Limited sovereignty, limited options

For Russia's neighbors, the constant intimidation and interference from Moscow have significant consequences. Most importantly, normal political development becomes difficult, and sometimes impossible. The affected countries lack full sovereignty in the sense that they are not free to make fundamental decisions about their political systems, their trading partners, and whether to integrate into Euro-Atlantic institutions. Their national identity and existence as states are regularly cast into doubt. Democratic reform often takes a back seat to security concerns, or to policy concessions aimed at maintaining good relations with Russia.

Prior to the saber rattling from the Kremlin, Estonia had an economy with one of Europe's higher rates of growth and was among the vanguard in embracing e-government and other innovations associated with a modern open society. Since the invasion of Ukraine and the Russian military's menacing gestures along its border, Estonia has ramped up defense spending and launched war games to increase preparedness. Indeed, all three Baltic countries announced major increases in military spending in 2016.

Conditions are even worse for states where Russia has instigated frozen conflicts. Russia maintains military bases in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, both on the territory of Georgia, and in Transnistria. These enclaves, as well as the occupied portions of Ukraine, are impoverished, heavily militarized, and marked by gangsterism and corruption.

Crimea is an instructive case for neighboring peoples who live under the threat of Russian military intervention. Residents of the peninsula enjoyed a reasonable array of civil liberties under the Ukrainian government. Under Russian occupation, all that has changed. Moscow has sent Russian officials to run the region as de facto viceroys. Freedom of the press, which was relatively vigorous before 2014, has been extinguished, and independent voices have been arrested or forced into exile. Property rights are routinely ignored, and expropriation is used as a blunt instrument against those who oppose the new order.

The fate of the Crimean Tatars is especially tragic, given the group's history of persecution and mass removal during Soviet times. Their leaders have been silenced or driven out of the region, their commemorations banned, and their media muzzled. By supporting a still-deadly frozen conflict in eastern Ukraine, the Russian leadership has ensured that the attention of policymakers in the democracies will be focused on the fighting there, and not on the dreadful conditions in Crimea.[12]

Since its invasion of Ukraine, Moscow has done its best to maximize the intimidating effect on other neighbors. It conducted war games in which 33,000 troops rehearsed the invasion of Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark.[13] The Russian navy has held multiple, large-scale exercises in the Black Sea to defy NATO, assert its control over Crimea, and threaten Georgia.[14] Russian and Abkhaz separatist officials have announced what amounts to a merger of troops from the two sides under the command of a Russian officer.[15] Russia's military is developing the capacity to simultaneously carry out several operations on the scale of the Ukraine conflict—limited, rapid offensives involving elite troops, deception, and propaganda that would leave opponents fumbling for an appropriate response.[16] The intervention in Syria has already demonstrated Russia's ability to project force unexpectedly in a new theater while maintaining its existing engagements in Ukraine and elsewhere.

Russia's renewed embrace of cross-border aggression has had wide repercussions in Central Europe, a region that had expected a secure alignment with the democratic world after the end of the Cold War. Poland, for example, had achieved something quite remarkable prior to 2014, given its history of domination by outside powers. It enjoyed friendly relations with Germany, one of its past occupiers, and stable ties with Russia, traditionally the other main threat to its sovereignty. After the annexation of Crimea, Poland's leaders were forced to seriously contemplate the possibility of a Russian invasion, especially given Putin's bellicose language about the speed with which his tanks could reach nearby capitals.[17] As a result, Poland has embarked on a military buildup to maintain its hard-won independence and territorial integrity.[18]

But no single European country could ever match Russia's present military might. If Poland, the Baltic states, and their allies fail to maintain solidarity based on shared democratic standards, it will not be long before their sovereignty erodes under pressure from the Kremlin.

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## Chapter 8

# Back to the Future

Until recently, a distinguishing feature of modern authoritarianism was the ruling group's ability to consolidate political power without resorting to the brutal tactics that defined the mainstream dictatorships of the 20th century.

The political leadership maintained control of the commanding heights of the media while tolerating a small group of critical outlets as a safety valve for dissent and in order to tout the existence of diverse opinions in the news. Reformist nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were allowed to operate, but not to grow or gain traction. The regime used violence against its critics, but only sparingly, targeting a few dissidents or independent journalists as a deterrent to others. And they were careful to keep the number of political prisoners to a minimum.

Perhaps most importantly, modern authoritarian regimes generally refrained from overt acts of hostility toward their neighbors. Some, such as China, boasted of a policy that sought harmonious, mutually beneficial relations with other regional states. Turkey similarly claimed a policy of "zero problems" with its neighbors in the period before the Syrian civil war.

Freedom House's Tyler Roylance has described a "common set of concessions" that 21st-century authoritarians made to the prevailing democratic ethos in the wake of the Cold War, when these regimes were balancing domestic political control with the need for deeper integration into the global diplomatic and economic systems:

- **Economic openness:** Rather than attempting to preserve a closed, command, or autarkic economy, the typical "modern authoritarian" regime cultivated extensive connections with the outside world, creating a sense of freedom and prosperity. However, state enterprises and crony tycoons retained a dominant position, and pliant legal systems allowed the leadership and other corrupt officials to set and routinely reset the terms of economic participation for foreign companies, investors, and local entrepreneurs.

- **Pluralistic media:** Formal prepublication censorship and media monopolies were abandoned in most cases, clearing the way for a proliferation of commercialized, well-produced, and often entertaining media outlets. But the state and its agents retained direct or indirect control of key sectors, manipulated mainstream news coverage, and kept truly independent journalism on the margins of the information landscape.

- **Political competition:** Most regimes allowed multiparty systems to emerge, and held regular elections, but opposition parties were fabricated, coopted, or defanged in practice, allowing the ruling group to retain a de facto monopoly on power.

- **Civil society:** Nongovernmental organizations were permitted to operate, but they were kept under close watch and forced to compete with state-sponsored groups. Organizations focusing on apolitical topics like public health or education often received less scrutiny than critical human rights activists, who were variously belittled, harassed, or suppressed.

- **Rule of law:** Twentieth-century authoritarian staples like martial law, curfews, mass arrests, and summary executions were largely left behind, and force began to be used more selectively, so that most of the population rarely experienced state brutality. Dissidents were punished through the legal system, with its vaguely worded laws and obedient judges, and in cases where extralegal violence was used, state authorship was either hidden or not acknowledged. Only certain ethnic minorities faced naked military force or deadly police tactics.[1]

While more calibrated and less expansive methods of repression are the defining feature of modern authoritarianism, the past few years have seen a reemergence of older methods that undermine the illusions of pluralism, openness, and integration into the global economy.

The most extreme departure from the modern authoritarian policy of balancing national ambitions with participation in global governance was Russia's invasion of Ukraine and annexation of Crimea. No breach of international standards of that magnitude had been committed since

Iraq's seizure of Kuwait in 1990. China's claim of ownership of the South China Sea, along with its creeping militarization of previously uninhabited islets, is at least as ambitious as Russia's move, though the impact is perhaps less jolting given the dearth of occupied populations.

There have been other reversions to 20th-century methods of repression. For example:

- **Political prisoners:** During the 20th century, opposition figures, political dissidents, advocates for minority groups, and people who wrote critical commentaries were regularly sentenced to prison terms, often under grim conditions, by dictatorships of all stripes. Amnesty International's founding mission was the defense of what were called "prisoners of conscience," and they ranged from dissidents and Jewish refuseniks in the Soviet Union to those who resisted right-wing juntas in Latin America. Soviet dissidents like Natan Sharansky and Vladimir Bukovsky were the focus of international campaigns organized by human rights organizations and cautiously embraced by the United States and other governments.

  The ranks of political prisoners declined substantially after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of dictatorships in Latin America, Asia, and to a certain extent Africa. Indeed, it was a major objective of the new authoritarianism to maintain political control without shedding blood or putting people behind bars, actions that provoked condemnation by human rights advocates, democratic governments, and UN entities.

  Recently, however, the political prisoner has made a comeback. One notably egregious offender is Azerbaijan. Under President Ilham Aliyev, this country of just 9.4 million people has amassed one of the world's largest numbers of political prisoners per capita, with approximately 80 prisoners of conscience during 2015, according to verified figures. Azerbaijan's repression has grown despite the fact that Aliyev already enjoyed near-total control of key institutions and distinctly gentle treatment from U.S. and European political leaders due to Azerbaijan's role as an alternative to Russian energy exports.

  Venezuela also has a substantial number of political prisoners—around 100 as of June 2016, according to credible sources, including prominent members of the political opposition.[2] Under President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, some estimates suggest that Egypt holds as many as 60,000 political prisoners.[3] Turkish authorities have similarly rounded up tens of thousands of people in the wake of the July 2016 coup attempt. A much smaller country, Bahrain, has convicted hundreds of people of political crimes since 2011, when the monarchy began arresting members of the political opposition who were demanding democratic elections and other freedoms.[4]

  China is in a class by itself. Since the 1989 crackdown on prodemocracy protests in Tiananmen Square, the Communist Party leadership has regularly jailed political dissidents, especially those who argued publicly for democratic political changes or made gestures toward the formation of opposition political parties. The most notable political prisoner is Liu Xiaobo, the Nobel Peace Prize winner who was sentenced to 11 years in prison in 2009. However, conditions have grown far worse under President Xi Jinping, as a numbing procession of lawyers, journalists, bloggers, women's advocates, minority rights campaigners, and religious believers have been detained, placed under house arrest, disappeared, or sentenced to prison.[5]

- **Public confessions:** Humiliating public confessions of ideological crimes were a staple of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's purges and Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution in China. They were also employed by Eastern European satellite regimes during the show trials of the late 1940s. A peculiarly communist technique, the public confession was largely abandoned after the deaths of Stalin and Mao.

  Under Xi, China has revived the practice. A growing list of editors, human rights lawyers, and advocates of political reform have been coerced into making televised confessions of their "crimes." The Chinese authorities even intimidated a Swedish citizen, legal reform activist Peter Dahlin, into confessing that he broke Chinese law and "hurt the feelings of the Chinese people." Dahlin was accused of endangering state security by funding human rights lawyers and compiling reports on the state of human rights in China.[6]

Intensified media domination: Most modern authoritarian countries allowed a sufficient degree of criticism in the media to justify a tenuous claim of pluralism. In recent years, tolerance for ideas and opinions that are not aligned with those of the regime has steadily eroded. In Russia, a bad situation became much worse after the invasion of Ukraine in 2014. Those who criticized or even raised questions about the morality or wisdom of the Kremlin's actions were persecuted, dismissed from employment, and banned from media commentary. Putin also expanded the zone of media control from the mainstream television and print sectors to the internet.

In Venezuela, one opposition or independent voice after another has been neutralized, as key newspapers and television stations were sold, under duress, to businessmen with ties to the government. The new and often opaque owners generally watered down political reporting and forced out prominent journalists.[7]

Even before the 2016 coup attempt, media freedom in Turkey was deteriorating at an alarming rate. The government, controlled by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Justice and Development Party, aggressively used the penal code, criminal defamation legislation, and antiterrorism laws to punish critical reporting. Journalists also faced growing violence, harassment, and intimidation from both state and nonstate actors. The authorities also used financial and administrative leverage over media owners to influence coverage and muzzle dissent.[8]

- **War propaganda:** For some time, propaganda from Russia, China, and other authoritarian countries stressed a hostility toward liberal values and democracy, framed around a relentless anti-Americanism. There were, however, certain redlines that propagandists were unlikely to cross. They would criticize American foreign policy and blame it for a country's problems. But only rarely would they accuse Washington of warlike intentions, and they seldom if ever made military threats themselves. Since the invasion of Ukraine and the resulting economic sanctions imposed by the United States and the EU, Russian propaganda has assumed an uglier, more menacing tone. The same is true in China, where official expressions of hostility toward the United States and "Western" democratic values intensified—indeed took on a histrionic and belligerent character—after the ascension of Xi Jinping as Communist Party leader. In Turkey, progovernment commentators have accused the U.S. government and even an American think tank of involvement in the failed coup of 2016. [9]

- **Closing doors to the outside world:** More than anything else, modern authoritarianism is distinguished from traditional autocracy by its openness to relatively normal relations with the outside world. China, for example, long sought to balance calibrated repression at home with participation in an impressive array of global institutions. Beijing welcomed the establishment of local branches of foreign, mostly American, universities, joint research ventures with foreign scholars, and even the involvement of foreign NGOs in areas such as legal reform and environmental conservation. While more ambivalent about the international media, Chinese authorities did give unprecedented freedom of movement to foreign journalists in the period surrounding the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Russia was less welcoming to foreign involvement in the country, whether by governmental or private entities, but for a time it maintained academic exchanges with the United States and European countries, grudgingly tolerated foreign NGOs, and took some pride in the freedom of Russians to travel freely abroad.

Conditions have deteriorated over the past several years. In Russia, the government reduced trade with Europe in response to sanctions, imposed travel restrictions on millions of public-sector employees, smeared domestic human rights organizations as "foreign agents" for accepting international funding, and began blacklisting foreign NGOs as "undesirable." China has increased regulatory and legal pressure on foreign companies, bullied foreign countries into repatriating Chinese political refugees, significantly increased regulatory restrictions on foreign NGOs, and sharply curbed journalistic freedom for foreign correspondents.

Propaganda and official rhetoric in both countries has increasingly portrayed them as besieged fortresses, threatened on all sides by hostile foreign powers, spies, separatists, and traitors who seek to topple the government and deny the nation its rightful place in the world. In this environment, any interaction with foreigners becomes suspect, and national security takes precedence over the benefits of global integration.

- **Foreign aggression:** The revival of Russia as a military power has been a central goal of Putin's leadership. He increased troop levels, devoted billions of dollars to equipment modernization, and instituted a series of reforms designed to enable the military to engage in several limited conflicts simultaneously. To compensate for the material advantages of the United States and NATO, the Russian military developed a strategic approach known as hybrid warfare, which seeks to combine conventional tactics, espionage and subversion, cyberattacks, and propaganda so as to limit the role of traditional battlefield operations and, where possible, sow confusion as to who is responsible for the aggression and how it should be dealt with. The strategy has been put into action in Ukraine, and intrusive Russian patrols have also harassed foreign navies and air forces across Northern Europe. In Georgia, Russian troops have constantly encroached on the Tbilisi government by simply moving border fences encircling the Russian-backed separatist region of South Ossetia.

  China has also engaged in a massive military buildup, and is pressing its maritime territorial claims with huge fleets of coast guard vessels and new island bases that bristle with armaments. Its tactics at sea are openly aggressive, but stop just short of the sort of action that might trigger live fire.

  Iran has long cultivated indirect methods of foreign aggression, particularly through the covert equipping and training of allied Shiite militias in Arab states. In recent years, however, it has openly deployed these militias in large numbers—overseen on the front lines by high-ranking Iranian officers—to battle zones in Syria and Iraq, and it has increasingly drawn on Afghan recruits in addition to Arabs. Iran's regional rivals, chiefly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, have responded with more direct foreign interventions of their own, most notably in Yemen.

The recent embrace of more overtly repressive policies stems in part from the common structural flaws of the modern authoritarian model. The question of succession in authoritarian governments is a constant source of tension, producing crises—such as Putin's return to the presidency after his circumvention of term limits in 2012—that require new crackdowns on dissent.

Moreover, because these regimes do not allow peaceful rotations of power through elections, they rely in large part on the promise of economic growth as a source of legitimacy. However, they also feature systemic corruption as a means of maintaining internal cohesion. All of this leaves them ill-equipped to cope with economic shocks and related public anger. The global economic downturn of 2008 and the more recent drop in energy prices have shaken economies and political establishments around the world, but while citizens of democracies can take their frustrations to the ballot box, authoritarian rulers must treat protests against austerity or unemployment as existential threats.

The promise of national greatness and the menace of external enemies are tried-and-true alternatives to economic prosperity as sources of regime legitimacy. Unfortunately, promoting these narratives also generates new cycles of dissent and repression, and damages ties with the outside world, further undermining the economy.

### A transition from bad to worse

While the return to the blunt instruments of the past suggests a fundamental weakness in the modern authoritarianism model, it would be a mistake to conclude that these regimes are doomed to extinction. The emergence of this model was in fact a remarkable demonstration of adaptability on the part of authoritarian rulers, who faced a uniquely inhospitable environment in the years after the end of the Cold War. Democracy, human rights, and the rule of law were newly ascendant as the governing principles of the international order, and undemocratic leaders made the changes necessary to survive without surrendering their political dominance.

If they are now reversing some of these changes, it is not just because the basic structures and incentives of authoritarian rule tend to encourage greater repression over time. It is also because the external pressure to conform to democratic standards is rapidly disappearing.

Leading democracies have absorbed the economic blows of recent years without revolution or repression, but voter frustration has increasingly lifted up antiestablishment, populist, and nationalist politicians who have little interest in the democratizing mission traditionally espoused by mainstream parties with deep roots in the global struggles of the 20th century. The new mood is reflected in the democracies' foreign policies, many of which are aimed more at seeking national advantage than at promoting the common good.

The rise of populist politics in democracies could give modern authoritarianism a new lease on life. While it may no longer be as useful for entrenched autocracies to mask their nature with an illusion of pluralism, freely elected leaders with authoritarian ambitions can use similar techniques to replace genuine democratic institutions with hollowed-out façades. This process is already under way in the countries that have been dubbed "illiberal democracies."

With states across the spectrum shifting in an authoritarian direction, there is not much comfort in the fact that repressive regimes are fundamentally more unstable and vulnerable to breakdowns than democracies. Major authoritarian governments may collapse in the face of economic crises, popular protests, or succession battles. But in the absence of international pressure and support, it seems doubtful that they would be replaced by aspiring democracies. Indeed, they could be succeeded by something even worse.

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## Conclusion

# Authoritarianism Comes Calling

Until very recently, the spread of the methods and strategies described in this report has largely been greeted with complacency and indifference in the democratic world. Even as it became clear that the rejection of liberal values by Russia, China, and other authoritarian states was a permanent fixture of global politics, democracies convinced themselves that although modern authoritarianism posed a challenge to the spread of freedom beyond its current reach, their own freedoms were in no jeopardy.

In the aftermath of the stunning events of 2016, it is apparent that the post–Cold War democratic order is in fact facing an unprecedented threat. Britain's vote to leave the European Union (EU), the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States, and the emergence of populist demagogues across Europe have all raised questions about the future of democracy in its traditional bastions.

It can no longer be assumed that Russia's challenge to democracy is limited to its policies of internal repression and aggression toward neighbors like Ukraine and Georgia. The Kremlin's development of parallel institutions—government-controlled civil society, a propaganda machine based on the latest media technologies, realistic but purely decorative elections—was once regarded as a project intended for Russia alone. When Angela Merkel, in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, exclaimed that Vladimir Putin lives in a different world, she meant a specifically Russian universe where facts are irrelevant, international treaties are obsolete, and sovereignty is a matter of power rather than law.

Now, however, the Kremlin has attempted to project this version of reality onto the democratic world. In the United States, Russia brazenly interfered in the electoral process through hacking efforts sponsored by its intelligence agencies. Whether this interference actually affected the outcome of the election is subject to debate. But there is strong evidence, endorsed by the entirety of the U.S. intelligence establishment and numerous independent analyses, that the interference did occur.

Just as worrying is the suggestion that the United States, much like Russia itself, has entered a "post-truth era," in which lies and distortions carry as much weight as facts. Clearly, at least some of this hand-wringing was a partisan reaction to Trump's victory. But it followed an election in which the winning candidate falsely claimed, among other things, that the balloting was rigged against him, that violent crime had reached record levels, and that undocumented immigrants were responsible for a large share of the violence.

Meanwhile, as of early 2017, populist parties with Russian-friendly platforms and histories of nativism and other forms of bigotry were expected to gain ground in upcoming elections in countries like the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

As it became more obvious that the democracies were poorly equipped to contend with resurgent authoritarianism, the leading autocracies were experimenting with more frightening methods of assuring domestic political control.

China in particular seemed to take an Orwellian turn with the planned introduction of a social credit system. This form of digital totalitarianism would allow the state to gather information on Chinese citizens from a variety of sources and use it to maintain scores or rankings based on an individual's perceived trustworthiness, including on political matters. Chinese officials have claimed that by 2020, the system will "allow the trustworthy to roam everywhere under heaven while making it hard for the discredited to take a single step."[1] A citizen could receive bad marks for petitioning the government, participating in protests, or circulating banned ideas on social media.

As for Russia, the Kremlin complemented its covert interference overseas with open and ugly acts of repression at home. In one brief period in early 2017, Russian opposition politician Aleksey Navalny was blocked from competing in the 2018 presidential contest through a trumped-up criminal conviction, dissident journalist Vladimir Kara-Murza nearly died from his second suspected poisoning, and the Russian parliament passed a law to decriminalize domestic violence that results in "minor harm" such as small lacerations and bruising.[2] Proponents of the domestic abuse law hailed it as a win for traditional family values.

The confluence of authoritarian gains and setbacks for democracy suggest a number of conclusions:

1. Modern authoritarianism is a permanent and increasingly powerful rival to liberal democracy as the dominant governing system of the 21st century. Variations on the systems that have proved effective in suppressing political dissent and pluralism in Russia and China are less likely to collapse than traditional authoritarian states, given their relative flexibility and pragmatism.

2. The most serious threat to authoritarian systems lies in economic breakdown. However, Russia, China, and other major autocracies have shown themselves capable of surviving economic setbacks that, while affecting the standard of living, did not push citizens to the limits of endurance. The catastrophic case of Venezuela is a notable exception. Of the main countries examined in this study, only in Venezuela did the political leadership attempt to impose a socialist economic system and wage war on the private sector.

3. Illiberalism in democratic environments is more than a temporary problem that can be fixed through an inevitable rotation of power. In Hungary, the Fidesz government has instituted policies that make it difficult for opposition parties to raise funds or present their political message, creating a structurally uneven political playing field. Other elected leaders with authoritarian mindsets will take notice and follow suit.

4. Authoritarian states are likely to intensify efforts to influence the political choices and government polices of democracies. The pressure will vary from country to country, but it will become increasingly difficult to control due to global economic integration, new developments in the delivery of propaganda, and sympathetic leaders and political movements within the democracies. Putin and his cohorts have learned well how to use democratic openness against democracy itself.

5. Authoritarian leaders can count on an increasingly vocal group of admirers in democratic states. For several years now, European parties of the nationalistic right and anticapitalist left have forged ties with Moscow and aligned their goals with Putin's. The 2016 U.S. presidential election revealed a new constituency, albeit small, that harbors respect for Putin despite his hostility to American interests and his interference in the country's democratic process. A disturbing number of advisers to the Trump campaign, including Trump himself, expressed admiration for Putin and his system. In addition, various political figures and commentators have praised or come to the defense of despotic rulers including Abdel Fattah al-Sisi and Bashar al-Assad.

6. Modern authoritarians can be expected to double down on their drive to neuter civil society as an incubator of reformist ideas and political initiatives. Civil society can serve as a vibrant alternative to mainstream democratic parties as those parties fall prey to corruption, elitism, and ossification. After the Kremlin effectively defanged the collection of human rights organizations, conservation projects, election monitors, and anticorruption committees in Russia, other autocrats and illiberal leaders began to act in similar fashion. Both Viktor Orbán in Hungary and the leaders of the Law and Justice party in Poland have spoken of "bringing order" to the nongovernmental sector, though serious restrictions on freedom of association have yet to be adopted by an EU state. That could change in 2017.

7. The rewriting of history will become more widespread and will greatly complicate societal efforts to confront both past and present political abuses. The rehabilitation of Joseph Stalin and the airbrushing of Mao Zedong's destructive reign serve to facilitate an authoritarian form of nationalism in which strength and unity supersede justice and freedom, and the state is exalted at the expense of individual human beings.

8. Authoritarian or illiberal forces are more likely to gain supremacy in countries where the parties that represent liberal democracy do not simply lose elections, but experience a full-blown political collapse, whether through corruption, ineptitude, or failure to build lasting bonds with the public. In the end, elections do matter, and real change still requires victory at the polls. This is why robust, self-confident, and uncorrupted opposition parties are essential to democracy's survival.

### Recommendations

In studies of this kind, recommendations are primarily addressed to policymakers, particularly in the administration and Congress of the United States. Given the election of Donald Trump, however, a different approach is called for.

Trump has made clear again and again his admiration for Vladimir Putin, to the point of asserting a kind of moral equivalency between the Russian and American governments. Since he assumed office, Trump and certain aides have encouraged in America the kind of "post-truth" environment that has prevailed in Russia under Putin. The new president has shown no interest in an American role in promoting human rights and democracy around the world; indeed, he seemed to dismiss this core element of U.S. foreign policy in his initial address to Congress, instead emphasizing "harmony and stability" and "the sovereign rights of all nations." Under these circumstances, to rely first and foremost on the U.S. government to meet the challenge posed by Russia, China, and other authoritarian states would amount to an exercise in futility.

The role of governments, both in the United States and Europe, will remain crucial. But the threat posed by modern authoritarianism has spread well beyond its original proving grounds. To some extent, the problems discussed in this report have already infected the United States and a number of European countries. They represent a menace to the media, academic freedom, civil society, electoral systems, and the rule of law. They even put in jeopardy the integrity of the facts and figures that an accountable government and a successful economy require. When the values of the political leadership are seen to waver, independent, nongovernmental voices and institutions will be called upon to do their part—not just to defend democracy at home, but to convince skeptical politicians and citizens that supporting the same struggle abroad serves the public interest.

**To the U.S. government:** We urge the Trump administration to appoint a director of global communications who is experienced in journalism and allow that person to build a program to counter hostile authoritarian messaging through up-to-date delivery techniques, honest reporting, and forthright commentary. Near the end of 2016, Congress passed legislation that placed the country's government-supported international media outlets—Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), and their sister services focused on Asia and other regions—under more direct presidential control, on the theory that a commander-in-chief who was committed to countering aggressive Russian influence would be better able to develop and implement new strategies. President Trump has yet to indicate how he intends to use this authority.

In the contest against Soviet communism, America's international broadcasting entities were the crown jewels of U.S. soft power. Indeed, in some countries, such as Poland or Romania, Radio Free Europe functioned as the opposition press, and clearly had a greater audience and more influence than the censored government press. In the post–Cold War period, what were initially shortwave radio services have evolved into modern media outlets, with video content, podcasts, blogs, social media engagement, and other forms of information delivery. Nevertheless, the United States today needs to update the strategy and operations of its publicly supported broadcasters and—most importantly—provide them with the resources to compete with a Russian propaganda machine that is nimble, attuned to popular discontent, and generously funded.

**To the independent media:** The mainstream press in the United States has recently shown increased interest in reporting on Russian methods of information warfare, some of which have been embraced by far-right media outlets that seek to undermine popular support for the core institutions of American democracy. We urge more responsible media to continue their investigation of these techniques and experiment with ways to combat them.

We also urge more intense coverage of Beijing's efforts to undermine democratic norms in neighboring states or territories, as in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and its largely successful attempts to pressure other governments into repatriating citizens who had fled persecution in China.

Lastly, the media are not doing their job if they neglect to give aggressive coverage to the lobbyists and public-relations specialists who make money by representing dictators and kleptocrats. Those who flack for the leaders of China, Azerbaijan, Egypt, and their ilk should be made to answer for each political prisoner, murdered opposition figure, shuttered newspaper, and offshore account full of stolen funds that can be tied to their authoritarian clients.

**To the academic community:** We urge academic associations, individual scholars, and university administrations to stand up for freedom of thought and open inquiry at a time when those values are under relentless pressure from dictatorships. We urge statements of protest against the persecution of fellow scholars or the politicized rewriting of history, especially in countries, like Russia and China, that are integrated into the international university system. We urge universities to reject the establishment of projects and study departments—whether at home or overseas—that do not adhere to the highest standards of intellectual freedom or that restrict discussion of certain subjects.

**To the business community:** We urge private businesses to avoid commercial relationships with authoritarian governments that force them to violate fundamental democratic principles. Private companies and investors have a clear interest in democratic public goods like the rule of law, which guarantees their property rights, and the transparency provided by free media and corruption watchdogs, which ensures the accuracy of economic data and the fair allocation of state contracts. They should therefore do what they can to prevent any further deterioration in the condition of global democracy.

Some sectors are especially vulnerable to authoritarian pressure, and have a special role to play in combating it. We urge the film industry to reject involvement in joint ventures with companies that have close ties to authoritarian regimes and reputations for demanding politicized censorship of artistic content. We also urge the technology industry to refuse business arrangements that require active complicity in or passive acceptance of political censorship or information control.

**To the European Union:** We urge the EU to undertake a comprehensive review of member states' democratic institutions to determine whether recent changes have weakened checks and balances or unduly protected incumbent parties from fair electoral competition. The EU should adopt measures to publicize departures from democratic standards and develop a new set of sanctions that could be imposed on noncompliant governments—whether inside, outside, or hoping to join the bloc—even in the absence of unanimity among member states. In the meantime, the EU should use the sanctions already in place, even if it means freezing a member state's participation, and be prepared to actually impose any new sanctions that might be introduced.

**To private foundations:** We urge private foundations to recognize and oppose the current assault on democracy. With a few exceptions, the great institutions of American philanthropy have studiously—and shamefully—ignored the steady erosion of global freedom and the rise of authoritarian powers. The recent developments in Europe and the United States will hopefully shake their complacency. There is a strong need for analysis, support for individual dissidents, and aid for societies under authoritarian threat, and as many democratic governments waver in their commitment to such priorities, it is essential for private funders to step into the breach.

**To mainstream political candidates:** We urge responsible political figures to call out colleagues or rivals when they show contempt for basic democratic ideas. Until now, politicians in the democracies have been unimpressive in their responses to opponents who embrace authoritarian figures like Putin. This is despite the overwhelming evidence of egregious crimes under Putin's rule: murdered journalists and political opposition leaders, the invasion of neighboring states, brutish counterinsurgency campaigns in the North Caucasus, the emasculation of a once-vibrant media sector, rigged elections, and much more. If they choose to shower him with praise, political leaders like Marine Le Pen, Geert Wilders, and Donald Trump should be forced to account for the realities of Putin's appalling record. The same is true for any politician who praises dictators in the Middle East, Asia, or Africa.

**To human rights organizations:** Human rights groups operating from the safety of democracies should be more aggressive in publicizing the plight of political prisoners. The defense of jailed dissidents was a major factor behind the rise of the modern human rights movement. Political prisoners became a lower priority as their numbers declined after the Cold War, but today there are more than a thousand in China alone, and many others in Venezuela, Iran, Azerbaijan, and elsewhere. It is past time for the phrase "prisoner of conscience" to again become an important part of our regular political vocabulary.

Furthermore, human rights organizations need to develop strategies that address the varied and sophisticated methods of repression used by modern authoritarians. There should be better efforts to identify individual perpetrators of abuse, document their culpability, and expose their actions. Among other benefits, such work would feed into governmental mechanisms for imposing sanctions, like the United States' Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act, which allows visa bans and asset freezes for foreign officials who are personally involved in egregious human rights violations.

**To the free world:** All democratic governments should make support for civil society in authoritarian and illiberal environments a bigger priority. This is especially urgent given that laws and regulations designed to neutralize nongovernmental organizations, which were first adopted by Russia, are now being taken up in countries like Hungary and Poland.

Democracies will also have to push back against Chinese censorship. The sheer size of China's economy gives Beijing the clout to insist on unreasonable, nonreciprocal, and often antidemocratic concessions from trading partners, the most prominent of which is the state's right to determine what its people can read, watch, or circulate via social media. The Chinese leadership expects the rest of the world to accept its brand of censorship as the normal state of affairs in China, and it is increasingly extending its demands beyond its borders, affecting the information available to global audiences.

Chinese censorship practices should be challenged at international forums and in bilateral meetings. Democratic governments should speak out when their own academics, artists, media companies, and corporations are subjected to censorship or blocking by the Chinese authorities. As long as Beijing maintains its current policies, democracies should take measures to prevent their own media, entertainment, and other information-related corporations from falling under the control of Chinese companies that support or benefit from censorship.

Finally, the free world must keep faith with states whose democratic goals are under threat from large and aggressive authoritarian powers. A prime example is Ukraine. That country represents the absolute front line in the global struggle for freedom. Building democracy in an inhospitable neighborhood is always difficult, particularly when your most powerful neighbor is determined to steal your land and wreck your home. Kyiv has made impressive strides; indeed, it has gone much further along the democratic path than it did after the Orange Revolution in 2005. But it still has hard work ahead, and it remains in serious danger. A positive outcome in Ukraine would not by itself erase the broader gains secured by the world's autocrats over the past decade, but it would be a pivotal defeat for their campaign to sow chaos and disunity among those who still live or aspire to live in freedom.

---

**1.** "Big Data, Meet Big Brother: China Invents the Digital Totalitarian State," *Economist*, December 17, 2016, http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21711902-worrying-implications-its-social-credit-project-china-invents-digital-totalitarian.

**2.** Feliz Solomon, "Vladimir Putin Just Signed Off on the Partial Decriminalization of Domestic Abuse in Russia," *Time*, February 8, 2017, http://time.com/4663532/russia-putin-decriminalize-domestic-abuse/.

Freedom House

Freedom House is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that supports democratic change, monitors freedom, and advocates for democracy and human rights.

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February 7, 2018

***By Email***

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Laura A. Menninger
Haddon, Morgan and Foreman, P.C.
150 East Tenth Avenue
Denver, CO 80203
Email: [redacted]

*Re:* *Giuffre v. Maxwell*, No. 15 Civ. 7433 (S.D.N.Y.)

Dear Counsel:

As you know, this firm represents Intervenor Alan Dershowitz in the above-referenced case.

It has recently come to our attention that plaintiff's counsel provided reporters from the *Washington Post* with submissions from a disciplinary proceeding pending before the

Florida Bar that reference information that was developed during discovery in this case. In keeping with plaintiff's enduring practice of insisting on selective confidentiality to bolster her own accusations while concealing evidence that undermines her claims, the materials provided to the *Post* include cherry-picked and misleading characterizations of evidence that is sealed and/or designated confidential under the protective order governing this action—to say nothing of the fact that it is simply false. In several instances, the materials plaintiff's counsel provided to the *Post* directly reproduce exhibits that were marked confidential in this case *by plaintiff*, and which *plaintiff filed under seal* before the district court. These disclosures violate both the spirit and the letter of the district court's orders, and appear calculated to hamstring Professor Dershowitz—who respects and will abide by the court's orders—in responding to the accusations against him.

Most notably, the materials provided to the *Washington Post* repeat the outrageous claim that [redacted] "came forward" and "corroborated" Ms. Giuffre's accusations against Dershowitz when she "testified under oath that she had been trafficked by Mr. Epstein and had had sex with Mr. Dershowitz." As plaintiff's counsel are well aware, Ms. [redacted] testimony is marked confidential and remains under seal; indeed, *plaintiff herself filed the relevant deposition transcript under seal* before the district court. *See* ECF No. 701-1. Yet the materials provided to the *Washington Post* repeat specific details from Ms. [redacted] sealed deposition, including specific sex acts she claims occurred with specific individuals. Plaintiff's counsel's selective characterization of this sealed evidence to a national newspaper is an outrageous violation of the district court's orders. *See* ECF No. 62 ¶ 4 ("CONFIDENTIAL information shall not be disclosed or used for any purpose except the preparation and trial of this case."); *see also, e.g.*, *Taylor v. Teledyne Techs., Inc.*, 338 F. Supp. 2d 1323, 1343 (N.D. Ga. 2004) (publicly summarizing and paraphrasing confidential documents violated protective order even without verbatim disclosure).

This is especially so given that the totality of this individual's testimony and other documents produced confidentially in discovery (none of which plaintiff's counsel elected to describe to reporters) demonstrate that her claims are utterly unworthy of belief.[1] Among other things, in emails sent in 2016, Ms. [redacted] claimed that she received help from "the Russians" and the hacker network Anonymous in responding to a hack of her email by the CIA; that Hillary Clinton sent "Special Agents Forces Men" to "intimidate[]" and "ruff[] (sic) . . . up" her friend in an effort to "to protect [Ms. Clinton's] presidential campaign"; that she possessed video and photographic evidence against both Ms. Clinton and Donald Trump that she would release to Wikileaks and Russian media by Sunday, October 23, 2016; that she possessed video footage of Bill Clinton, Prince Andrew, and Richard Branson having sex with her friend which was backed up on "several USB sticks" that she had "securely sent . . . to various different locations throughout Europe"; and that another friend had—while the two "were showering together"—showed her physical evidence that "Donald Trump liked flicking and sucking her nipples until they were raw." Notably, in these emails, Ms. [redacted] mentions Professor Dershowitz, but she does not allege that she was trafficked to or had sex with him.

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[1] As you know, on June 21, 2017, we, on behalf of Professor Dershowitz ,wrote to Judge Sweet asking that, in the event that Ms. [redacted] deposition were unsealed (or its designation as "confidential" by the parties withdrawn), the Court permit public disclosure of her emails.

As you know, Ms. [redacted] provided this information, on the record, to a New York *Post* journalist with the expressed hope that it would be published. Although these allegations, if credible, would have been the story of a lifetime — videos and eye witness accounts of sexual misconduct by two presidential candidates, a former president, and one of the world's leading entrepreneurs— the New York *Post* declined to publish them, presumably, and not surprisingly, because it did not find Ms. [redacted] credible. Nonetheless, thereafter, Ms. [redacted], represented by the same lawyers who represent the plaintiff in the above-captioned case, was permitted to testify that Professor Dershowitz had sex with her. These same lawyers have now provided documents to the Washington *Post* repeating the false charges, but have failed to provide the *Post* with the emails that fatally undermine them. These selective disclosures, and this use of the court's protective and sealing orders "as a sword," are manifestly improper.

Professor Dershowitz intends to pursue all available remedies for violations of the district court's orders, including sanctions. That said, to remedy the gross imbalance in available information created by counsel's improper disclosures, we ask that the parties' counsel immediately agree to a stipulation, to be so-ordered by Judge Sweet, unsealing and removing the confidentiality designations from Ms. [redacted]s emails. This will allow for *full* public disclosure of these matters—where their falsity, exposed to the "sunlight" of public review, will be manifest—and it will permit Professor Dershowitz to respond fully to the accusations plaintiff's counsel leaked to the *Washington Post*. Only with such full disclosure can the public decide who is telling the truth.

Please let us know your response to this request by noon on February 9, 2018.

Very truly yours,

Andrew G. Celli, Jr.

# WE Talks

## Women Empowerment: Women to Women Talks

Our mission is to support and enhance women's professional and personal growth and fulfillment.

We are deeply committed to providing achievement-driven women with inspiration, guidance, and elevating networking opportunities networking.

We organize and conduct seminars with female speakers who are leaders in their industry.

Our seminal approach can me likened to "TED Talks for Women." The speaker shares the secrets of her professional and personal success with the audience and answers the questions. The discussions will include, but won't be limited to the following topics: How to pursue a career of your dream? What makes you feel empowered? How to build one of a kind brand? How to achieve both self-realization in professional life and fulfillment personal life?

Our first seminar is going to take place in NYC on April 5th. Consequently, we will be conducting one seminar every month.

## Kathy Ruemmler is going to be the first speaker.

Kathy is an attorney who formerly served as White House Counsel to President Barack Obama. She previously worked as Principal Deputy White House Counsel.

Kathryn Ruemmler is global co-chair of the white-collar defense and investigations practice at Latham & Watkins. She rejoined the firm after five years in the Obama administration, first in the Department of Justice and then as President Obama's chief lawyer, when she headed a team of around 45 lawyers and staff in the White House Counsel's office. Obama has said she has “an uncanny ability to see around the corners that no one else anticipates.” Earlier in her career, Ruemmler was a federal prosecutor who helped secure the convictions of former Enron executives Kenneth Lay and Jeff Skilling.

**From:** Steve Banner [redacted]
**Sent:** 7/22/2018 11:27:26 PM
**To:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Fw:

**Importance:** High

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

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**From:** Benjamin Harnwell <[redacted]>
**Date:** Sun, 22 Jul 2018 22:01:54 +0200
**To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
**Subject:** Re:

**Bannon the European: He's opening the populist fort in Brussels**

*The former Trump strategist arrives in Europe with "The Movement". Objective: an alliance between right-wing leaders, from Salvini to Orbán in view of the 2019 elections*

NEW YORK. The invasion of Europe has begun. Steve Bannon, 65, the American far-right guru who was Donald Trump's right-hand man in the White House — but let go last summer following the racist violence in Charlottesville — is preparing to march on Brussels. Launching, he told the Daily Beast himself, a new non-profit foundation called The Movement, (Il Movimento), right in the heart of Europe and its institutions. Through which he hopes to coordinate the populist right in view of the European elections which will be held in spring 2019.

Objective: to compete with George Soros, the American billionaire of Hungarian origin, benefactor of the Democratic party, who since 1984 with his Open Society has spent at least $32 billion in support of NGOs dealing with human rights. And for this he became the bogeyman of the populist right, accused of plots of all kinds: including that of wanting to replace Italians with immigrants in order to have labour at low cost. A mantra repeated in the past on Twitter also by the current Minister of the Interior Matteo Salvini.

The ambition of Steve Bannon, former director of the alt-right American site Breitbart — which in the European campaign preceded him since the platform had already opened bureaux in London and Rome — is therefore to become the coordinator of the one great "populist international" of which he has long since been dreaming.

The Movement, in fact, intends to function as an extreme right-wing think tank: a source of strategic advice to channel the not-so-politically structured discontent of the most extreme European movements. Analysing data and giving strategic advice. But also by raising funds and channeling funding.

The aim is to create a populist alliance, a sort of "super group" that if victorious can conquer up to a third of the European Parliament in the elections next May.

Indeed — putting the common policy of the Old Continent in the hands of Bannon and his own. The American strategist is very attached to the Freedom Caucus — the extreme right of the US Congress — and in 2014 he was at the top of the Cambridge Analytica company, which in 2016 used data stolen from Facebook to try to influence the presidential election from which Donald Trump emerged victor. It is not a mystery that for a long time he courts nationalists of the right from East to West. And he has already

> met, among others, the Hungarian Orbán, the French Marine Le Pen and the former leader of the British separatists Nigel Farage. The latter reappeared, coincidentally, on Friday in Pennsylvania, USA, to a fundraiser in favor of the Republican congressman Lou Barletta. Without forgetting the Italians of Lega and 5 stars. Of them, he said: "If it works in Italy, we can import the model anywhere".
>
> The Movement, which for now will count on a staff of 10 people, will be fully operational in 2019. In short, after the American midterm elections, where Bannon is fighting to influence the primaries supporting candidates potentially able to undermine the prospects of Republican establishment. But in the future the former spin doctor says he wants to spend more and more time in Europe. Also because the relationships with Trump have worsened after the revelations he made to Michael Wolff and published in the scandal book "Fire and Fury". "Better to reign in Hell than to serve in Paradise," Bannon says now paraphrasing the Satan of one of his favorite books, John Milton's Lost Paradise. Hell in this case would be the dear old Europe and its democratic values. The "army of darkness" is already among us.

In Sacratissimo Corde Iesu et Purissimo Corde Mariae et Castissimo Corde Ioseph.

*******

Benjamin Harnwell
Founder and President of the Board of Trustees
Dignitatis Humanae Institute

[redacted]

Istituto Dignitatis Humanae
44 Via delle Fornaci
Roma 00165
ITALY

@ben_harnwell
www.dignitatishumanae.com

Il giorno 22 lug 2018, alle ore 15:38, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> ha scritto:

What does this say???

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** Maria Luisa <[redacted]>
**Date:** July 22, 2018 at 9:11:58 AM EDT
**To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra <[redacted]>

<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

**From:** Steve Bannon [redacted]
**Sent:** 7/22/2018 11:58:18 PM
**To:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

**Importance:** High

Abandon Hope, All Ye Who Enter
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

**From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
**Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
**To:** <[redacted]>
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

9th circle

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:26 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Benjamin Harnwell <[redacted]>
> **Date:** Sun, 22 Jul 2018 22:01:54 +0200
> **To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
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*******

Benjamin Harnwell
Founder and President of the Board of Trustees
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Office: [redacted]

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please note

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**From**: Steve Bannon [[redacted]]
**Sent**: 7/23/2018 12:18:57 AM
**To**: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject**: Re: Fw:

**Importance**: High

Well played sir
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

**From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
**Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:58:06 +0200
**To:** <[redacted]>
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

Hicks?

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:57 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> Abandon Hope, All Ye Who Enter
> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>
> ---
>
> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
> **To:** <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re: Fw:
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>
> In Sacratissimo Corde Iesu et Purissimo Corde Mariae et Castissimo Corde Ioseph.
>
> *******
>
> Benjamin Harnwell
> Founder and President of the Board of Trustees
> Dignitatis Humanae Institute
>
> Cell: [redacted]
> Office:[redacted]
>
> Istituto Dignitatis Humanae

> 44 Via delle Fornaci
> Roma 00165
> ITALY
>
> @ben_harnwell
> www.dignitatishumanae.com
>
> Il giorno 22 lug 2018, alle ore 15:38, Steve Bannon [redacted]> ha scritto:
>
> What does this say???
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> **From:** Maria Luisa <[redacted]>
> **Date:** July 22, 2018 at 9:11:58 AM EDT
> **To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra [redacted]>
>
> <PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>
>
> Sent from my iPhone

--
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**From:** Steve Bannon[redacted]n]
**Sent:** 7/23/2018 12:19:09 AM
**To:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

**Importance:** High

Yes
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

---

**From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
**Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 02:02:16 +0200
**To:** <[redacted]n>
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

If you are going to play here , you'll have to spend time , europe by remote doesn't work . Lots and lots of face time and hand holding

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:58 AM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> Hicks?
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> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:57 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Abandon Hope, All Ye Who Enter
>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>>
>> ---
>>
>> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
>> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
>> **To:** <[redacted]>
>> **Subject:** Re: Fw:
>>
>> 9th circle
>>
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>>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>>>
>>> ---
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>>> **From:** Benjamin Harnwell <[redacted]>
>>> **Date:** Sun, 22 Jul 2018 22:01:54 +0200
>>> **To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
>>> **Subject:** Re:
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>>> **Bannon the European: He's opening the populist fort in Brussels**
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**To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra <[redacted]>

<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

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**From:** Steve Bannon [redacted]
**Sent:** 7/23/2018 11:07:34 AM
**To:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

**Importance:** High

Agree 100%

How do I do that???

American Carnage amazing -- Ari Emmanual financed it and he loves it---Erolls besties tell him it will end his career because he gave a platform to a monster

Officially in Venice , Toronto and New York Film Festival

Skipping telluride

On Jul 23, 2018, at 6:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

its doable , but time consuming, there are many leaders of countries we can organize for you to have one on ones. however . you will have to come , stay 8 -10 days. , then no more than two weeks later. the same. The fear is that you gin up their hopes and emotions and then abandon them. I think you want to be an insider, not an outsider flying in and out. did you get the first cut of american carnage? .?

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 2:19 AM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> Yes
> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>
> ---
>
> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 02:02:16 +0200
> **To:** <[redacted]>
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> > > **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> > > **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
> > > **To:** <[redacted]>
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> > >
> > > 9th circle
> > >
> > > On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:26 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

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**From:** Benjamin Harnwell <[redacted]>
**Date:** Sun, 22 Jul 2018 22:01:54 +0200
**To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
**Subject:** Re:

**Bannon the European: He's opening the populist fort in Brussels**

*The former Trump strategist arrives in Europe with "The Movement". Objective: an alliance between right-wing leaders, from Salvini to Orbán in view of the 2019 elections*

NEW YORK. The invasion of Europe has begun. Steve Bannon, 65, the American far-right guru who was Donald Trump's right-hand man in the White House — but let go last summer following the racist violence in Charlottesville — is preparing to march on Brussels. Launching, he told the Daily Beast himself, a new non-profit foundation called The Movement, (Il Movimento), right in the heart of Europe and its institutions. Through which he hopes to coordinate the populist right in view of the European elections which will be held in spring 2019.

Objective: to compete with George Soros, the American billionaire of Hungarian origin, benefactor of the Democratic party, who since 1984 with his Open Society has spent at least $32 billion in support of NGOs dealing with human rights. And for this he became the bogeyman of the populist right, accused of plots of all kinds: including that of wanting to replace Italians with immigrants in order to have labour at low cost. A mantra repeated in the past on Twitter also by the current Minister of the Interior Matteo Salvini.

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Cell: [redacted]
Office: [redacted]

Istituto Dignitatis Humanae
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Il giorno 22 lug 2018, alle ore 15:38, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> ha scritto:

What does this say???

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** Maria Luisa <[redacted]>
**Date:** July 22, 2018 at 9:11:58 AM EDT
**To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra [redacted]>

<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

--

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---

**From:** Steve Bannon[redacted]
**Sent:** 7/23/2018 1:50:16 PM
**To:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

**Importance:** High

#

On Jul 23, 2018, at 9:49 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

We can talk about at your convenience

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:07 PM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> Agree 100%
>
> How do I do that???
>
> American Carnage amazing -- Ari Emmanual financed it and he loves it---Erolls besties tell him it will end his career because he gave a platform to a monster
>
> Officially in Venice , Toronto and New York Film Festival
>
> Skipping telluride
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>> Yes
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>>>> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>

**Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
**To:** <[redacted]>
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

9th circle

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> ---
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> **From:** Benjamin Harnwell <[redacted]>
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> **To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re:
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**To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra <[redacted]>

<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

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**From:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Sent:** 12/19/2016 10:39:57 AM
**To:** Lisa New [redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Thank You from Lisa and Poetry in America

barnaby is no longer there. He is at Institue for Advanced Studies. .. That being said, let me ask him if he can shepard you through Templeton

On Sun, Dec 18, 2016 at 11:36 PM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

> Dear
> Jeffrey
> (*and please see note at bottom*),
>
> This end-of-the-year letter is to catch you up on developments and to report progress made in 2016 by *Poetry in America,* by its associated non-profit production company, Verse Video Education, and by (and with) our new Harvard partner, the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning. Whether you are a longstanding adviser and supporter of *Poetry in America*, or you've more recently joined our circle of proponents, your contributions, thought partnership and enthusiasm have made this year's successes possible.
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*And heard there's another little Jeff in the caribbean...*

*Best,*

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

--
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**From:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Sent:** 12/19/2016 3:01:54 PM
**To:** Lisa New [redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Thank You from Lisa and Poetry in America

from barnaby -
she could apply, but she should know that there are only a few grants in each round; most projects proposed don't get funding. It is like rolling the dice. what people don't understand is that many grants are not funded not because they are defective in any way, but simply because there is not enough funding to cover even a part of what comes in (there are thousands of applications and hundreds of millions of dollars of requests that go all through different kinds of review; it is hard to know what will make it through because different people make the priority decisions at different stages of review; and it depends what other applications are in the pool in a given cycle). There is no "direct" route anymore.

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**From**: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Sent**: 7/23/2018 12:03:28 AM
**To**: [redacted]
**Subject**: Re: Fw:

**Importance**: High

Europe can be a wife not a mistress

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 2:02 AM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> If you are going to play here , you'll have to spend time , europe by remote doesn't work . Lots and lots of face time and hand holding
>
> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:58 AM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
>> Hicks?
>>
>> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:57 AM Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:
>>
>>> Abandon Hope, All Ye Who Enter
>>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>>>
>>> ---
>>>
>>> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
>>> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
>>> **To:** [redacted]>
>>> **Subject:** Re: Fw:
>>>
>>> 9th circle
>>>
>>> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:26 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]wrote:
>>>
>>>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>>>>
>>>> ---
>>>>
>>>> **From:** Benjamin Harnwell [redacted]>
>>>> **Date:** Sun, 22 Jul 2018 22:01:54 +0200
>>>> **To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
>>>> **Subject:** Re:
>>>>
>>>> **Bannon the European: He's opening the populist fort in Brussels**
>>>>
>>>> *The former Trump strategist arrives in Europe with "The Movement". Objective: an alliance between right-wing leaders, from Salvini to Orbán in view of the 2019 elections*
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>>>> NEW YORK. The invasion of Europe has begun. Steve Bannon, 65, the American far-right guru who was Donald Trump's right-hand man in the White House — but let go last summer following the racist violence in Charlottesville — is preparing to march on Brussels. Launching, he told the Daily Beast himself, a new non-profit foundation called The Movement, (Il Movimento), right in the heart of Europe and its institutions. Through which he hopes to coordinate the populist right in view of the European elections which will be held in spring 2019.
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>>>> Objective: to compete with George Soros, the American billionaire of Hungarian origin, benefactor of the Democratic party, who since 1984 with his Open Society has spent at least $32 billion in support of NGOs dealing with human rights. And for this he became the bogeyman of the populist right,

> accused of plots of all kinds: including that of wanting to replace Italians with immigrants in order to have labour at low cost. A mantra repeated in the past on Twitter also by the current Minister of the Interior Matteo Salvini.
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> The ambition of Steve Bannon, former director of the alt-right American site Breitbart — which in the European campaign preceded him since the platform had already opened bureaux in London and Rome — is therefore to become the coordinator of the one great “populist international” of which he has long since been dreaming.
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> The Movement, in fact, intends to function as an extreme right-wing think tank: a source of strategic advice to channel the not-so-politically structured discontent of the most extreme European movements. Analysing data and giving strategic advice. But also by raising funds and channeling funding.
>
> The aim is to create a populist alliance, a sort of “super group” that if victorious can conquer up to a third of the European Parliament in the elections next May.
>
> Indeed — putting the common policy of the Old Continent in the hands of Bannon and his own. The American strategist is very attached to the Freedom Caucus — the extreme right of the US Congress — and in 2014 he was at the top of the Cambridge Analytica company, which in 2016 used data stolen from Facebook to try to influence the presidential election from which Donald Trump emerged victor. It is not a mystery that for a long time he courts nationalists of the right from East to West. And he has already met, among others, the Hungarian Orbán, the French Marine Le Pen and the former leader of the British separatists Nigel Farage. The latter reappeared, coincidentally, on Friday in Pennsylvania, USA, to a fundraiser in favor of the Republican congressman Lou Barletta. Without forgetting the Italians of Lega and 5 stars. Of them, he said: "If it works in Italy, we can import the model anywhere”.
>
> The Movement, which for now will count on a staff of 10 people, will be fully operational in 2019. In short, after the American midterm elections, where Bannon is fighting to influence the primaries supporting candidates potentially able to undermine the prospects of Republican establishment. But in the future the former spin doctor says he wants to spend more and more time in Europe. Also because the relationships with Trump have worsened after the revelations he made to Michael Wolff and published in the scandal book “Fire and Fury”. “Better to reign in Hell than to serve in Paradise,” Bannon says now paraphrasing the Satan of one of his favorite books, John Milton's Lost Paradise. Hell in this case would be the dear old Europe and its democratic values. The “army of darkness” is already among us.

> In Sacratissimo Corde Iesu et Purissimo Corde Mariae et Castissimo Corde Ioseph.
>
> *******
>
> Benjamin Harnwell
> Founder and President of the Board of Trustees
> Dignitatis Humanae Institute
>
> Cell: [redacted]
> Office: [redacted]
>
> Istituto Dignitatis Humanae

44 Via delle Fornaci
Roma 00165
ITALY

@ben_harnwell
www.dignitatishumanae.com

Il giorno 22 lug 2018, alle ore 15:38, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> ha scritto:

What does this say???

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** Maria Luisa <[redacted]>
**Date:** July 22, 2018 at 9:11:58 AM EDT
**To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra <[redacted]>

<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

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**From:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Sent:** 7/23/2018 1:58:04 PM
**To:** Steve Bannon [redacted]
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

011-331-441-70210. In 2 hrs

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 3:50 PM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> #
>
> On Jul 23, 2018, at 9:49 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> We can talk about at your convenience
>
> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:07 PM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Agree 100%
>>
>> How do I do that???
>>
>> American Carnage amazing -- Ari Emmanual financed it and he loves it---Erolls besties tell him it will end his career because he gave a platform to a monster
>>
>> Officially in Venice , Toronto and New York Film Festival
>>
>> Skipping telluride
>>
>> On Jul 23, 2018, at 6:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>
>> its doable , but time consuming, there are many leaders of countries we can organize for you to have one on ones. however . you will have to come , stay 8 -10 days. , then no more than two weeks later. the same. The fear is that you gin up their hopes and emotions and then abandon them. I think you want to be an insider, not an outsider flying in and out. did you get the first cut of american carnage? .?
>>
>> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 2:19 AM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
>>
>>> Yes
>>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>>>
>>> ---
>>>
>>> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
>>> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 02:02:16 +0200
>>> **To:** <[redacted]>
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In Sacratissimo Corde Iesu et Purissimo Corde Mariae et Castissimo Corde Ioseph.

*******

Benjamin Harnwell
Founder and President of the Board of Trustees
Dignitatis Humanae Institute

Cell: [redacted]
Office: [redacted]

Istituto Dignitatis Humanae
44 Via delle Fornaci
Roma 00165
ITALY

@ben_harnwell
www.dignitatishumanae.com

Il giorno 22 lug 2018, alle ore 15:38, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> ha scritto:

What does this say???

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** Maria Luisa <[redacted]>
**Date:** July 22, 2018 at 9:11:58 AM EDT
**To:** Steve Bannon <[redacted]>, Preate Alexandra <[redacted]>

<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

--
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**From:** jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Sent:** 7/23/2018 3:32:23 PM
**To:** Steve Bannon [[redacted]]
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

available now?

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 3:50 PM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> #
>
> On Jul 23, 2018, at 9:49 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> We can talk about at your convenience
>
> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:07 PM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Agree 100%
>>
>> How do I do that???
>>
>> American Carnage amazing -- Ari Emmanual financed it and he loves it---Erolls besties tell him it will end his career because he gave a platform to a monster
>>
>> Officially in Venice , Toronto and New York Film Festival
>>
>> Skipping telluride
>>
>> On Jul 23, 2018, at 6:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>
>> its doable , but time consuming, there are many leaders of countries we can organize for you to have one on ones. however . you will have to come , stay 8 -10 days. , then no more than two weeks later. the same. The fear is that you gin up their hopes and emotions and then abandon them. I think you want to be an insider, not an outsider flying in and out. did you get the first cut of american carnage? .?
>>
>> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 2:19 AM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
>>
>>> Yes
>>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>>>
>>> ---
>>>
>>> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
>>> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 02:02:16 +0200
>>> **To:** <[redacted]>
>>> **Subject:** Re: Fw:
>>>
>>> If you are going to play here , you'll have to spend time , europe by remote doesn't work . Lots and lots of face time and hand holding
>>>
>>> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:58 AM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>>
>>>> Hicks?
>>>>
>>>> On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:57 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
>>>>
>>>>> Abandon Hope, All Ye Who Enter
>>>>> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

**From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
**Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:51:58 +0200
**To:** <[redacted]>
**Subject:** Re: Fw:

9th circle

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 1:26 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Benjamin Harnwell <[redacted]>
> **Date:** Sun, 22 Jul 2018 22:01:54 +0200
> **To:** Steve Bannon<[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re:
>
> **Bannon the European: He's opening the populist fort in Brussels**
>
> *The former Trump strategist arrives in Europe with "The Movement". Objective: an alliance between right-wing leaders, from Salvini to Orbán in view of the 2019 elections*
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<PHOTO-2018-07-22-10-02-17.jpg>

Sent from my iPhone

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**Sent**: 7/23/2018 3:58:02 PM
**To**: Steve Bannon [redacted]]
**Subject**: Re: Fw:

reacall , I am unaware of your playbook. however , whatever is good for you -- Im in. . I think meeting , the leaders of europe BEFORE he possible implodes is only good for many reasons. frankly , after you meet , you could explain what happened; they will all want advice. . ALL

On Mon, Jul 23, 2018 at 2:18 AM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> Well played sir
> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T
>
> ---
>
> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> **Date:** Mon, 23 Jul 2018 01:58:06 +0200
> **To:** <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re: Fw:
>
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>> **To:** <[redacted]>
>> **Subject:** Re: Fw:
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Page 4 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 5 ~ b6 - 1, -2, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -2, -4, -5;
Page 6 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 7 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5;
Page 8 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 9 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5;
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Page 11 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5;
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Page 18 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
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Page 23 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
Page 24 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
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Page 28 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
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Page 30 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
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Page 32 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 33 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 34 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 35 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
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Page 50 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 51 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 52 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 53 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;

Page 54 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 55 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 56 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 57 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 58 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 59 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 60 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 61 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 62 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 63 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 64 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 2;
Page 73 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 2, -3; b7C - 2, -3; b7E - 3;
Page 74 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3, -5; b7C - 3, -5;
Page 75 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 5; b7C - 5;
Page 76 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 2, -3; b7C - 2, -3;
Page 77 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3, -5; b7C - 3, -5;
Page 88 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 89 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 90 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 91 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 92 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 93 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 94 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 95 ~ b6 - 2; b7C - 2;
Page 100 ~ b6 - 1, -2; b7C - 1, -2; b7D - 2; b7E - 1, -2;
Page 107 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3, -5; b7C - 3, -5;
Page 109 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 112 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 114 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 118 ~ b3 - 2; b6 - 2, -6; b7C - 2, -6;
Page 119 ~ b3 - 2;
Page 120 ~ b3 - 2;
Page 124 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3; b7C - 1, -2, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 125 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3; b7C - 1, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 126 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3; b7C - 1, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 129 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3; b7C - 1, -2, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 130 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3; b7C - 1, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 133 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -2, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 134 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 136 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3, -5; b7C - 3, -5;
Page 138 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3, -5; b7C - 3, -5;
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Page 141 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3; b7C - 1, -2, -3;
Page 142 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3; b7C - 1, -2, -3;
Page 147 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -2, -3; b7C - 1, -2, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 148 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 149 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3; b7C - 1, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 151 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
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Page 154 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5;
Page 155 ~ b6 - 1; b7C - 1;
Page 156 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 157 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;

Page 158 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 159 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 160 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 161 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 162 ~ b6 - 5; b7C - 5;
Page 163 ~ b6 - 5; b7C - 5;
Page 164 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5;
Page 165 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5;
Page 166 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 167 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 168 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3; b7C - 1, -3; b7D - 1;
Page 169 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 170 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 171 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 172 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 173 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 174 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 175 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 2;
Page 176 ~ b6 - 1, -4; b7C - 1, -4;
Page 177 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -7; b7D - 2;
Page 178 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -7; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 179 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -7; b7C - 1, -4, -7;
Page 180 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -7;
Page 181 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 182 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 183 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 184 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
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Page 186 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -4, -5, -7;
Page 187 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 188 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 189 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 190 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 191 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 192 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 193 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 194 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 195 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 196 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -4, -5;
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Page 198 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -4, -5;
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Page 203 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 204 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 205 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 206 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -4, -5;
Page 207 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 208 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;

Page 209 ~ b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
Page 210 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
Page 211 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 212 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 2;
Page 213 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 214 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 215 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -4, -5;
Page 216 ~ b6 - 1, -4; b7C - 1, -4;
Page 217 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 218 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 2;
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Page 220 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -5, -7; b7D - 2;
Page 221 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -4, -5, -7;
Page 222 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5;
Page 223 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 224 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 225 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 226 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 227 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 228 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 229 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 230 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 231 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 232 ~ b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 233 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 234 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 235 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 236 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
Page 237 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
Page 238 ~ b6 - 1, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1;
Page 239 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 2;
Page 240 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7C - 1, -3, -4, -5, -7; b7D - 1, -2;
Page 241 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4;
Page 242 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 3; b7C - 3;
Page 243 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 244 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -5; b7C - 1, -3, -5; b7D - 1;
Page 245 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 246 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3, -4; b7C - 1, -3, -4; b7D - 1;
Page 247 ~ b3 - 1; b6 - 1, -3; b7C - 1, -3; b7D - 1;
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(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 07/24/2006

**To:** Miami **Attn:** SSA [redacted]

**From:** Miami
Squad PB-2, PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:** [redacted] enk

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM [redacted]

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

OPEN (REOPEN)
CLASS 31 ALPHA E
ORIGIN MM DATE 2/24/06

b3 -1
b6 -1, -2
b7A -1
b7C -1, -2

**Synopsis:** To request case be opened and assigned. Ot A SA [redacted]

**Details:** From March 2005 through February 2006, the Palm Beach County Police Department conducted an investigation involving the Subjects, Jeffrey Epstein, DOB [redacted] [redacted] DOB [redacted] DOB [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Epstein [redacted] Epstein's [redacted] [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

203enK01.EC

2
31E-MM-108062-1

03956-17

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

It is requested by SA [redacted] that the above captioned case be opened and assigned.

b6 -2
b7C -2

◆◆

*[illegible]obable Cause Affidavit*

# Palm Beach Police Department

**Agency ORI# FLO 500600**

---

**Police Case#: 05-368 (1)**

**Defendant:** **Jeffrey Epstein**
**Race/Sex:** **White Male**
**DOB:** [redacted]
**Charges:**

b6 -1
b7C -1

---

From March 15, 2005, through February 2006, the Palm Beach Police Department conducted a sexual battery investigation involving Jeffrey Epstein, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Palm Beach. [redacted] [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

The facts, as reported, are as follows:

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -1

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -1

---

**The foregoing instrument was sworn to or affirmed before me this 1st day of May, 2006 by Det [redacted] who is personally known to me.**

b6 -4
b7C -4

**State of Florida**
**County of Palm Beach**

**Signature/Arresting Officer**

**Signature of Police Officer (F.S.S. 117.10)**

**Date:** **05/01/2006**

**Page of 22**

31E-MM-108062-

03956-19

## Palm Beach Police Department

**Agency ORI# FLO 500600**

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

[redacted]

On November 21, 2005 I interviewed [redacted] stated he was [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3, -5
b7C -1, -3, -5
b7D -1

On January 4, 2006 I interviewed another former houseman, Mr Alfredo Rodriguez. During a sworn taped statement, Mr. Rodriguez stated he was employed by Jeffrey Epstein for approximately six months, from November 2004 through May of 2005. His responsibilities as house manager included being the butler, chauffeur, chef, houseman, run errands for Epstein and provide for Epstein's guests. I asked Rodriguez about [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -1

**The foregoing instrument was sworn to or affirmed before me this 1st day of May, 2006 by Det [redacted] who is personally known to me.**

b6 -4
b7C -4

**State of Florida**
**County of Palm Beach**

**Signature/Arresting Officer**

**Signature of Police Officer (F.S.S. 117.10)**

**Date: 05/01/2006**

*[illegible]bable Cause Affidavit*

## Palm Beach Police Department

**Agency ORI# FLO 500600**

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -1

[redacted]

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -1

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -2
b7E -1

[redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7D -2
b7E -1

Therefore, as Jeffrey Epstein, who at the time of these incidents was [redacted]

[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

**The foregoing instrument was sworn to or affirmed before me this 1st day of May, 2006 by Det [redacted] who is personally known to me.**

b6 -4
b7C -4

**State of Florida**
**County of Palm Beach**

**Signature/Arresting Officer**

**Signature of Police Officer (F.S.S. 117.10)**

**Date: 05/01/2006**

FD-350 (Rev. 5-8-81)

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(Indicate page, name of
newspaper, city and state.)
1B, 6B / The Palm Beach Post
West Palm Beach, FL

Date: 0724/2006
Edition:

Title: Mystery money man faces soliciting charge

Character
or
Classification 31E-MM-108062
Submitting Office: MM

Indexing:

03956-63

# Mystery money man faces soliciting charge

By NICOLE JANOK
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

A part-time Palm Beacher who has socialized with Donald Trump, Bill Clinton and Kevin Spacey was jailed early Sunday with accused drug dealers, drunken drivers and wife beaters after he was charged with soliciting a prostitute.

Manhattan money manager Jeffrey Epstein, 53, was picked up at his home on El Brillo Way at 1:45 a.m. He was released hours later on $3,000 bond.

Epstein was indicted last week by a state grand jury, according to state attorney's spokesman Mike Edmondson. Despite Epstein's arrest, the indictment containing the allegations remained sealed Sunday and Edmondson provided no details.

Unlike most accused johns, Epstein was charged with a third-degree felony instead of a misdemeanor. Under state law, a solicitation charge usually is elevated to a more-serious felony when the defendant has at least two solicitation convictions.

However, checks of court records here and in New York Sunday turned up no such convictions.

Epstein could not be reached. Edmondson said he was being represented by West Palm Beach attorney Jack Goldberg, who declined comment.

Epstein is the president of J Epstein & Co., a money management company based in Manhattan that caters to ultra-wealthy clientele, according to pub-

*See* SOLICITING, 6B ▶

**Jeffrey Epstein**
Indictment related to prostitution.

## 'Mysterious billionaire' has been on probation

▶ SOLICITING *from 1B*

lished reports. National magazines have described him as a "mysterious billionaire" who lives in a 45,000-square-foot New York City mansion.

He has been in trouble before. In 1993, he and two other defendants were charged in federal court with three counts of postal larceny and theft and one count of property theft. Epstein plead guilty to a single charge of conspiring to steal U.S. Treasury checks from residential mailboxes and received 5 years' probation. The remaining charges were dropped.

Since then, Epstein's name has turned up in New York City's tabloids. *The New York Post* noted he flew President Clinton and Kevin Spacey to Africa on his private Boeing 727. In 2003, the paper dubbed him one of the Big Apple's "top studs."

In 2004, Epstein bid against Trump for a 43,000-square foot Palm Beach estate once owned by health-care magnate Abe Gosman. Trump topped Epstein with a $41.35 million bid.

*Staff Researcher Angelica Cortez contributed to this story.*

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FD-350 (Rev. 5-8-81)

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03956-64

4B THE PALM BEACH POST • TUESDAY, JULY 25, 2006

# Indictment: Billionaire solicited 3 times

*Palm Beach police will report today about their prostitution probe of the money manager.*

By LARRY KELLER
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

Billionaire money manager and Palm Beach part-time resident Jeffrey Epstein solicited or procured prostitutes three or more times between Aug. 1 and Oct. 31 of last year, according to an indictment charging him with felony solicitation of prostitution.

Epstein, 53, was booked at the Palm Beach County jail at 1:45 a.m. Sunday. He was released on $3,000 bond.

Epstein's case is unusual in that suspected prostitution johns are usually charged with a misdemeanor, and even a felony charge is typically made in a criminal information — an alternative to an indictment charging a person with the commission of a crime.

His attorney, Jack Goldberger, declined to discuss the charge.

State attorney's office spokesman Mike Edmondson also had little to say.

Epstein

"Generally speaking, there is a case that has a number of different aspects to it," Edmondson said of a prostitution-related charge being submitted to a grand jury. "We first became aware of the case months ago by Palm Beach police."

Prosecutors and police worked together to bring the case to the grand jury, he said.

Palm Beach police confirmed that and said the department will release a report today regarding its investigation.

Epstein has owned a five-bedroom, 7½-bath, 7,234-square-foot home with a pool and a boat dock on the Intracoastal Waterway since 1990, according to property records. A man answering the door there Monday said that Epstein wasn't home. A Cadillac Escalade registered to him was parked in the driveway, which is flanked by two massive gargoyles.

Epstein sued Property Appraiser Gary Nikolits in 2001, contending that the assessment of his home exceeded its fair market value. He dismissed his lawsuit in December 2002.

A profile of Epstein in *Vanity Fair* magazine said he owns what are believed to be the largest private homes in Manhattan — 51,000 square feet — and in New Mexico — a 7,500-acre ranch. Those are in addition to his 70-acre island in the U.S. Virgin Islands and fleet of aircraft.

Epstein's friends and admirers, according to the magazine, include prominent businessmen, academics and scientists and famed Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz.

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Title: After long probe, billionaire faces solicitation charges

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# After long probe, billionaire faces solicitation charge

By LARRY KELLER
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

Palm Beach billionaire Jeffrey Epstein paid to have underage girls and young women brought to his home, where he received massages and sometimes sex, according to an investigation by the Palm Beach Police Department.

**Epstein**

Palm Beach police spent months sifting through Epstein's trash and watching his waterfront home and Palm Beach International Airport to keep tabs on his private jet. An indictment charging Epstein, 53, was unsealed Monday, charging him with one count of felony solicitation of prostitution.

Palm Beach police thought there was probable cause to charge Epstein with unlawful sex acts with a minor and lewd and lascivious molestation.

Police Chief Michael Reiter was so angry with State Attorney Barry Krischer's handling of the case that he wrote a memo

*See* EPSTEIN, 5B ▶

6
03956-65

31E-MM-108062-6

# Police kept watch on home, airport, sifted through trash

▶ EPSTEIN *from 1B*

suggesting the county's top prosecutor disqualify himself.

"I must urge you to examine the unusual course that your office's handling of this matter has taken and consider good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases," Reiter wrote in a May 1 memo to Krischer.

While not commenting specifically on the Epstein case, Mike Edmondson, spokesman for the state attorney, said his office presents cases other than murders to a grand jury when there are questions about witnesses' credibility and their ability to testify.

By the nature of their jobs, police officers look at evidence from a "one-sided perspective," Edmondson said. "A prosecutor has to look at it in a much broader fashion," weighing the veracity of witnesses and how they may fare under defense attorneys' questioning, he said.

Epstein's attorney, Jack Goldberger, said his client committed no crimes.

"The reports and statements in question refer to false accusations that were not charged because the Palm Beach County state attorney questioned the credibility of the witnesses," Goldberger said. A county grand jury "found the allegations wholly unsubstantiated and not credible," and that's why his client was not charged with sexual activity with minors, he said.

Goldberger said Epstein passed a lie detector test administered by a reputable polygraph examiner in which he said he did not know the girls were minors. Also, a search warrant served on Epstein's home found no evidence to corroborate the girls' allegations, Goldberger said.

According to police documents:

- A Palm Beach Community College student said she gave Epstein a massage in the nude, then brought him six girls, ages 14 to 16, for massage and sex-tinged sessions at his home.
- A 27-year-old woman who worked as Epstein's personal assistant also facilitated the liaisons, phoning the PBCC student to arrange for girls when Epstein was coming to town. And she escorted the girls upstairs when they arrived, putting fresh sheets on a massage table and placing massage oils nearby.
- Police took sworn statements from five alleged victims and 17 witnesses. They contend that on three occasions, Epstein had sex with the girls.

**The chief's letter**

See the letter Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter wrote to State Attorney Barry Krischer on the Epstein case.

**PalmBeachPost.com**

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A money manager for the ultra-rich, Epstein was named one of New York's most eligible bachelors in 2003 by *The New York Post.* He reportedly hobnobs with the likes of former President Clinton, former Harvard University President Lawrence Summers and Donald Trump, and has lavish homes in Manhattan, New Mexico and the Virgin Islands.

He has contributed tens of thousands of dollars to Democratic Party candidates and organizations, including Sen. John Kerry's presidential bid, and the Senate campaigns of Joe Lieberman, Hillary Clinton, Christopher Dodd and Charles Schumer.

Goldberger is one of five attorneys Epstein has retained since he became the subject of an investigation, Edmondson said. Among the others: Alan Dershowitz, the well-known Harvard law professor and author, who is a friend of Epstein. Dershowitz could not be reached for comment.

Police said the woman who enlisted young girls for Epstein was Haley Robson, 20, of Royal Palm Beach. Robson has worked at an Olive Garden restaurant in Wellington and said she was a journalism major at Palm Beach Community College when she was questioned by police last October. She has an unlisted phone number and could not be reached for comment.

Robson said she met Epstein when, at age 17, a friend asked her if she would like to make money giving him a massage. She said she was driven to his five-bedroom, 7½-bath home on the Intracoastal Waterway, then escorted upstairs to a bedroom with a massage table and oils. Epstein and Robson were both naked during the massage, she said, but when he grabbed her buttocks, she said she didn't want to be touched.

Epstein said he'd pay her to bring him more girls — the younger the better, Robson told police. When she tried once to bring a 23-year-old woman to him, Epstein said she was too old, Robson said.

Robson, who has not been charged in the case, said she eventually brought six girls to Epstein who were paid $200 each time, Robson said. "I'm like a Heidi Fleiss," police quoted her as saying. The girls knew what to expect when they were taken to Epstein's home, Robson said. Give a massage — maybe naked — and allow some touching.

One 14-year-old girl Robson took to meet Epstein led police to start the investigation of him in March 2005. A relative of the girl called to say she thought the child had recently engaged in sex with a Palm Beach man. The girl then got into a fight with a classmate who accused her of being a prostitute, and she couldn't explain why she had $300 in her purse.

The girl gave police this account of her meeting with Epstein:

She accompanied Robson and a second girl to Epstein's house on a Sunday in February 2005. Once there, a woman she thought was Epstein's assistant told the girl to follow her upstairs to a room featuring a mural of a naked woman, several photographs of naked women on a shelf, a hot pink and green sofa and a massage table.

She stripped to her bra and panties and gave him a massage.

Epstein gave the 14-year-old $300 and she and the other girls left, she said. She said Robson told her that Epstein paid her $200 that day.

Other girls told similar stories. In most accounts, Epstein's personal assistant at the time, Sarah Kellen, now 27, escorted the girls to Epstein's bedroom.

Kellen, whose most recent known address is in North Carolina, has not been charged in the case.

Palm Beach police often conducted surveillance of Epstein's home, and at Palm Beach International Airport to see if his private jet was there, so they would know when he was in town. Police also arranged repeatedly to receive his trash from Palm Beach sanitation workers, collecting papers with names and phone numbers, sex toys and female hygiene products.

One note stated that a female could not come over at 7 p.m. because of soccer. Another said a girl had to work Sunday — "Monday after school?" And still another note contained the work hours of a girl, saying she leaves school at 11:30 a.m. and would come over the next day at 10:30 a.m.

Only three months before the police department probe began, Epstein donated $90,000 to the department for the purchase of a firearms simulator, said Jane Struder, town finance director. The purchase was never made. The money was returned to Epstein on Monday, she said.

*Staff writers Andrew Marra and Tim O'Meilia and staff researcher Angelica Cortez contributed to this story.*

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# Police say lawyer tried to discredit teenage girls

By LARRY KELLER
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

Famed Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz met with the Palm Beach County State Attorney's Office and provided damaging information about teenage girls who say they gave his client, Palm Beach billionaire Jeffrey Epstein, sexually charged massages, according to police reports.

The reports also state that another Epstein attorney agreed to a plea bargain that would have allowed Epstein to have no criminal record. His current attorney denies this happened.

And the documents also reveal that the father of at least one girl complained that private investigators aggressively followed his car, photographed his home and chased off visitors.

Police also talked to somebody who said she was offered money if she refused to cooperate with the Palm Beach Police Department probe of Epstein.

**Epstein:** His former attorney agreed to a plea bargain, police say.

The state attorney's office said it presented the Epstein case to a county grand jury this month rather than directly charging Epstein because of concerns about the girls' credibility. The grand jury indicted Epstein, 53, on a single count of felony solicitation of prostitution, which carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison.

Police believed there was probable cause to charge Epstein with the more serious crimes of unlawful sex acts with a minor and lewd and lascivious molestation. Police Chief Michael Reiter was so angry that he wrote State Attorney Barry Krischer a memo in May suggesting he disqualify himself from the case.

The case originally was going to be presented to the grand jury in February, but was postponed after Dershowitz produced information gleaned from the Web site myspace.com showing some of the alleged victims commenting on alcohol and marijuana use, according to the police report prepared by Detective Joseph Recarey.

Haley Robson, a 20-year-old Royal Palm Beach woman who told police she recruited girls for Epstein, also is profiled on myspace.com. Her page includes photos of her and her friends, including one

*See* EPSTEIN, 7B ▶

03956-67

31E-MM-108062-7

# Polygraph shows he didn't know girls' ages, lawyer says

▶ EPSTEIN *from 1B*

using the name "Pimpin' Made EZ." Robson, who was not charged in the case, is a potential prosecution witness.

According to Recarey, prosecutor Lanna Belohlavek offered Epstein attorneys Dershowitz and Guy Fronstin a plea deal in April. Fronstin, after speaking with Epstein, accepted the deal, in which Epstein would plead guilty to one count of aggravated assault with intent to commit a felony, be placed on five years' probation and have no criminal record. The deal also called for Epstein to submit to a psychiatric and sexual evaluation and have no unsupervised visits with minors, according to Recarey's report. The plea bargain was made in connection with only one of the five alleged victims, the report states.

Fronstin — who declined to comment on the case — was subsequently fired and veteran defense attorney Jack Goldberger was hired. He denies there was any agreement by any of Epstein's attorneys to a plea deal.

"We absolutely did not agree to a plea in this case," he said. Neither Belohlavek nor a state attorney's spokesman could be reached for comment.

The parent or parents of alleged victims who complained of being harassed by private investigators provided license tag numbers of two of the men. Police found the vehicles were registered to a private eye in West Palm Beach and another in Jupiter, according to Recarey's report.

"I have no knowledge of it," defense attorney Goldberger said.

The report also says a woman connected to the Epstein case was contacted by somebody who was still in touch with Epstein. That person told her she would be compensated if she didn't cooperate with police, Recarey's report says. Those who did talk "will be dealt with," the woman said she was told. Phone records show the woman talked with the person who allegedly intimidated her around the time she said, Recarey reported.

Phone records also show that the person said to have made the threat then placed a call to Epstein's personal assistant, who in turn called a New York corporation affiliated with Epstein, the report states.

The issue in the Epstein case is not whether females came to his waterfront home, but whether he knew their ages.

"He's never denied girls came to the house," Goldberger said. But when Epstein was given a polygraph test, "he passed on knowledge of age," the attorney said.

After the indictment against Epstein was unsealed this week, Police Chief Reiter referred the matter to the FBI. "We've received the referral, and we're reviewing it," said FBI spokeswoman Judy Orihuela in Miami.

The chief himself has come under attack from Epstein's lawyers and friends in New York, where he has a home. The *New York Post* quoted Epstein's prominent New York lawyer, Gerald Lefcourt, as saying his client was indicted only "because of the craziness of the police chief."

Reiter has declined to comment on the case.

Prosecutors have not presented a sex-related case like Epstein's to a grand jury before, said Mike Edmondson, spokesman for the state attorney's office. "That's what you do with a case that falls into a gray area," he said.

The state attorney's office did not recommend a particular criminal charge on which to indict Epstein, Edmondson said. The grand jury was presented with a list of charges from highest to lowest, then deliberated with the prosecutor out of the room, he said.

"People are surprised at the grand jury proceeding," West Palm Beach defense attorney Richard Tendler said. "It's a way for the prosecutor's office to not take the full responsibility for not filing the (charge), and not doing what the Palm Beach Police Department wanted. I think something fell apart with those underage witnesses."

Defense attorney Robert Gershman was a prosecutor for six years. "Those girls must have been incredible or untrustworthy, I don't know," he said.

Other attorneys said Epstein's case raises the issue of whether wealthy, connected defendants like Epstein — whose friends include former President Clinton and Donald Trump — are treated differently from others. Once he knew he was the subject of a criminal probe, Epstein hired a phalanx of powerful attorneys such as Dershowitz and Lefcourt, who is a past president of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers.

Miami lawyer Roy Black — who became nationally known when he successfully defended William Kennedy Smith on a rape charge in Palm Beach — also was involved at one point.

Said defense attorney Michelle Suskauer: "I think it's unfortunate the public may get the perception that with power, you may be treated differently than the average Joe."

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(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 08/01/2006

**To:** Miami **Attn:** IMA/PB2

**From:** Miami
PB2/PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:** [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -2
b7C -1, -2

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 ~~(Pending)~~

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To request the opening of sub-files in captioned case.

**Details:** It is requested that the following sub-files be opened to assist in document management in captioned case.

SUB - SOP to capture subpoena request.

SUB - FF to capture forfeiture related materials.

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And they were girls

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# He was over 50. And they were girls

If the women whom Palm Beach police say a part-time town resident invited to his home and paid for sex acts were, in fact, *women*, the solicitation charge against Jeffrey Epstein might feel more sufficient. But, according to police records, they weren't. He was over 50. And they were girls.

**Elisa Cramer**

14.
15.
16.
17-year-old *girls*.

That should count for something — the difference between prostitution and pedophilia.

So, it is baffling that Mr. Epstein, who was indicted last month by a grand jury on one felony count of solicitation of prostitution, has not been charged, as Palm Beach police strenuously urged, with unlawful sex acts with a minor and lewd and lascivious molestation.

Conviction of crimes against minors would mean steeper penalties than the maximum five-year prison term Mr. Epstein faces if convicted of the single count of felony solicitation. It also would help carry a message of intolerance to perverts who prey on girls.

Prosecutors did not pursue charges against Mr. Epstein reflecting the age of the victims because they assumed a jury would view the girls not as victims but as promiscuous, untrustworthy, willing participants. The presumption is offensive.

Mr. Epstein, a 53-year-old Manhattan money manager who has hired Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz and defense attorney Jack Goldberger, has denied knowing how old the girls were.

## *Jury should have decided if Epstein is a pedophile.*

But police interviews with five alleged victims and 17 witnesses under oath, as well as phone messages, a high school transcript and other items that police found from searching Mr. Epstein's trash and 7,234-square-foot waterfront home, provide evidence that he knew the girls were teenagers.

One girl couldn't show up when Mr. Epstein wanted because she had soccer. Another time, Mr. Epstein had to wait for his "massage" session because the girl he wanted was still in class.

Why didn't State Attorney Barry Krischer let a jury decide whether to believe the teenagers — including a 16-year-old who went to Mr. Epstein's house to "work" in December 2004 after being asked whether she needed to make money for Christmas gifts?

Prosecutors gave greater weight to the details Mr. Dershowitz provided about the girls in an apparent effort to assail their character. Mr. Dershowitz pointed out to prosecutors that some of the teenagers had talked on myspace.com about marijuana and alcohol use.

The 20-year-old Royal Palm Beach woman who told police she recruited girls for Mr. Epstein has a Web page on myspace.com that features one girl using the name "Pimpin' Made EZ."

Although no charges of witness tampering have been filed, the parents of at least one of the teenage victims complained to police of being followed and intimidated by two men. Police determined that their vehicles were registered to two private investigators. Mr. Goldberger denied knowing anything about it.

Police also note in their reports that the state attorney's office offered Mr. Epstein a plea deal that would have placed him on probation for five years, allowing him ultimately to walk away with no criminal record at all.

I asked Mr. Krischer's spokesman, Mike Edmondson, why the case was referred to a grand jury instead of Mr. Epstein being charged and facing a trial before a jury. And shouldn't the victims' credibility be a factor to determine whether a crime's been committed, not whether a jury will convict? (After all, as Mr. Goldberger told *The Palm Beach Post* of Mr. Epstein, "He's never denied girls came to the house.")

Especially, I asked Mr. Edmondson to explain: Why shouldn't the public look at this case and think there are two kinds of justice — one for the wealthy and one for the rest of us?

Mr. Edmondson said he could not comment on the case because it is active, but on the latter point, he offered, for the sake of "philosophical debate": "Whether wealth buys a different standard of justice across the country ... the answer to that would, of course, be yes."

But in this case, he said, "regardless of the battery of attorneys, the outcome would be the same. Every issue that was debated in public was debated in our office before this case went to the grand jury."

In this case, it is not the victims' credibility but the state attorney's that deserves questioning.

*Elisa Cramer is an editorial writer for* The Palm Beach Post. *Her e-mail address is elisa_cramer@pbpost.com*

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# Expert: Ignorance of age isn't defense in sex cases

By LARRY KELLER
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

**Epstein:** Two politicians have returned donations since he was charged with soliciting minors.

Even if Palm Beach money manager Jeffrey Epstein didn't know that girls who police say gave him sexual massages at his Intracoastal home were under the legal age, that alone wouldn't have exempted him from criminal charges of sexual activity with minors.

"Ignorance is not a valid defense," said Bob Dekle, a legal skills professor who was a Lake City prosecutor for nearly 30 years, half of that time specializing in sex crimes against children.

"There is no knowledge element as far as the age is concerned," Dekle said.

After an 11-month investigation, Palm Beach police said there was probable cause to charge Epstein, 53, with unlawful sex acts with a minor and lewd and lascivious molestation. They contend that Epstein — friend of the rich and famous and financial patron of Democratic Party organizations and candidates — committed those acts with five underage girls.

In the past week, New York Attorney General and gubernatorial candidate Eliot Spitzer has returned about $50,000 in campaign contributions he received from Epstein, and Mark Green, a candidate to replace Spitzer in

*See* EPSTEIN, 5B ▶

03956-76

31E-MM-108062-11

# Lawyer: Jurors often believe adults over kids

▶ EPSTEIN *from 1B*

his current job, has returned $10,000 to him because of the Palm Beach scandal, the *New York Daily News* has reported.

Rather than file charges, the state attorney's office presented the case to a county grand jury. The panel indicted Epstein last week on a single, less serious charge of felony solicitation of prostitution.

The case raised eyebrows because the state attorney's office rarely, if ever, kicks such charges to a grand jury. And it increases the difficulty of prosecuting child sex abuse cases, especially when the defendant is enormously wealthy and can hire high-priced, top-tier lawyers.

At least one of Epstein's alleged victims told police he knew she was underage when the two of them got naked for massages and sexual activity. She was 16 years old at the time and said Epstein asked her questions about her high school, according to police reports.

A girl who said she met Epstein when she was 15 said he told her if she told anybody what happened at his house, bad things could happen, the police reports state.

Epstein's youngest alleged victim was 14 when she says she gave him a massage that included some sexual activity. She is now 16. The girl's father says he doesn't know whether she told Epstein her age.

"My daughter has kept a lot of what happened from me because of sheer embarrassment," he said. "But she very much looked 14. Any prudent man would have had second thoughts about that."

Defense attorney Jack Goldberger maintains that not only did Epstein pass a polygraph test showing he did not know the girls were minors, but their stories weren't credible. The state attorney's office also implied that their credibility was an issue when it decided not to charge Epstein directly, but instead give the case to the grand jury.

"A prosecutor has to look at it in a much broader fashion," a state attorney's spokesman said last week.

Epstein hired Harvard law Professor Alan Dershowitz when he became aware he was under investigation, and Dershowitz gave prosecutors information that some of the alleged victims had spoke of using alcohol and marijuana on a popular Web site, according to a Palm Beach police report.

Prosecutors typically consider two things in deciding whether to charge somebody with sex-related offenses against minors — whether there is sufficient evidence and whether there is a public interest in doing so, Dekle said.

**Child sex abuse cases often are difficult to prosecute, an attorney says.**

If two teens are in a sexual relationship and the boy turns 18 before the girl, he could be charged with a sex crime if the sex continues. There would be no public interest in pursuing that, Dekle said.

But where there is a large gap in ages — and especially in cases of teachers with students — there is a public interest in prosecuting, he said. Likewise if the accused has a track record of sex with minors.

Still there is a "universal constant" in prosecuting these cases, Dekle said. Men who exploit underage children for sex often carefully choose their victims in ways that will minimize the risk to them, he said.

Victims usually are from a lower social status, and they may suffer from psychological problems, Dekle said.

"Lots of child sexual abuse victims have been victimized by multiple people over a period of time. Then the act of abuse produces behavior in the victims that further damages their credibility." Examples include promiscuous behavior and drug abuse.

Some of the alleged victims in the Epstein case returned to his home multiple times for the massage sessions and the $200 to $300 he typically paid them per visit. "That would be a definite problem for the prosecutor," said Betty Resch, who prosecuted crimes against children in Palm Beach County for five years and now is in private practice in Lake Worth.

"The victim becomes less sympathetic" to a jury, Resch said. "But she's a victim nevertheless. She's a kid."

Most men charged with sex crimes against minors look normal, Dekle said. A jury expecting to see a monster seldom will. And the victims' ages work against them and in favor of the defendant in a trial, Dekle said.

If a child and an adult tell different stories and both swear they're telling the truth, adult jurors are more likely to believe the adult, Dekle said.

"You have all these things working against you in a child sex abuse case. Prosecutors normally try to be very careful in filing those cases because they know what they're getting into. There is no such thing as an iron-clad child sexual abuse case."

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# Palm Beach chief focus of fire in Epstein case

## Defendant's lawyers take him on; he slams state attorney

By LARRY KELLER
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

In the case of Palm Beach financier Jeffrey Epstein, it seems, at times, as if two men are accused of wrongdoing: Epstein and Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter.

Epstein, 53, was indicted last month on a charge of felony solicitation of prostitution solely because of Reiter's "craziness," one of Epstein's lawyers said. His department disseminated "a distorted view of the case" and behaved in a "childish" manner when the grand jury didn't indict Epstein on the charges it sought, another Epstein lawyer complained.

To hear the Epstein camp tell it, Reiter, 48, is a loose cannon better suited to be the sheriff of Mayberry. They whisper that he's embroiled in a messy divorce.

Reiter did in fact file for divorce from his wife, Jill, last year, after 24 years of marriage. They have a son, 18, and a daughter, 14. The couple is scheduled to go to mediation Wednesday. Nothing in the court file suggests their split is particularly ugly.

Reiter incurred the wrath of the Epstein camp as well as the state attor-

*See* REITER, 7B ▶

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# Colleagues cite chief's professionalism, integrity

▶REITER *from 1B*

ney's office for two reasons. First, he pressed for Epstein to be charged with the more serious crimes of sexual activity with minors. Second, he slammed State Attorney Barry Krischer in blunt language seldom used by one law-enforcement official concerning another because of what he perceived as that office's mishandling of the case.

In a letter to Krischer written May 1, Reiter called his actions in the Epstein case "highly unusual." He added, "I must urge you to . . . consider if good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases."

In short, Reiter told the county's top prosecutor for the past 13 years that he ought to get off the case. "It looks like a departure from professionalism," Miami-Dade State Attorney Katherine Fernandez Rundle said of Reiter's letter.

Following Epstein's indictment, Reiter referred the case to the FBI to determine whether the super-rich, super-connected defendant had violated any federal laws.

Reiter won't discuss the case or the broadsides aimed at him. But others almost uniformly use one word to describe the chief: professional.

"I have always been impressed by Mike's professionalism and his leadership," said Rick Lincoln, chief of the Lantana Police Department and a Palm Beach County cop for 32 years.

"The town of Palm Beach has a very professional police department. We all consider Mike to be our peer and a man of integrity."

**Reiter:** Town Manager Peter Elwell says the Palm Beach police chief's well worth his $144,000 salary.

Juno Beach Police Chief H.C. Clark II agreed. Although he doesn't know Reiter well, he has met with him on countywide law enforcement issues. "I've never seen him lose his cool. I've never seen anything but a professional demeanor from him."

Reiter joined the Palm Beach Police Department in 1981, leaving a $20,000-a-year patrol job at the University of Pittsburgh. His personnel jacket shows consistently excellent job evaluations.

Posh Palm Beach is no hotbed of crime, and in his first year on the job, a resident confined to his home with a sick child thanked Reiter for delivering a few Cokes to the house. Reiter refused payment for the beverages. Another resident thanked Reiter for shutting off his car's headlights in his driveway, saying a valet must have been at fault.

Reiter worked everything from road patrol to organized crime, vice and narcotics. And he's no novice at investigations involving the island's rich and famous. He was the lead detective probing the drug overdose death of David Kennedy in 1984. He also was one of the officers who worked the investigation of William Kennedy Smith, who was charged in 1991 — and later acquitted — with raping a woman at the Kennedy family compound in Palm Beach.

Reiter, who has a master's degree in human resource development from Palm Beach Atlantic University, also has attended the FBI National Academy in Quantico, Va., and management courses at Harvard. He's been active in countywide interagency law enforcement organizations and has a "top secret" national security clearance.

"He has a perspective that's broader than just addressing the needs of the town," said Town Manager Peter Elwell, who promoted Reiter from assistant chief to chief in March 2001. Reiter makes more than $144,000 as the town's top cop. Elwell thinks he's worth it.

"He's very businesslike, very straightforward. He's not easily agitated or flamboyant. He's about the work," Elwell said. "I think that his service as chief has been outstanding in five-plus years."

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FD-350 (Rev. 5-8-81)

Mount Clipping in Space Below)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)
1A / 6A / The Palm Beach Post
West Palm Beach, FL

Date: 8/14/2006
Edition:

Title: The man who had everything

Character
or
Classification: 31E-MM-108062
Submitting Office: MM

Indexing:

03956-80

# The man who had everything

Epstein's Palm Beach mansion at 358 El Brillo Way.

## Jeffrey Epstein craved big homes, elite friends and, investigators say, underage girls

By ANDREW MARRA, Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

31E-MM-108062-13

**Jeffrey Epstein has donated more than $100,000** to Democratic candidates' campaigns, including John Kerry's presidential bid, the reelection campaign of New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson and the Senate bids of Joe Lieberman, Hillary Clinton, Christopher Dodd and Charles Schumer.

**WINGED GARGOYLES** guarded the gate at Jeffrey Epstein's Palm Beach mansion. Inside, hidden cameras trolled two rooms, while the girls came and went.

For the police detectives who sifted through the garbage outside and kept records of visitors, it was the lair of a troubling target.

Epstein, one of the most mysterious of the country's mega-rich, was known as much for his secrecy as for his love of fine things: magnificent homes, private jets, beautiful women, friendships with the world's elite.

But at Palm Beach police headquarters, he was becoming known for something else: the regular arrival of teenage girls he hired to give him massages and, police say, perform sexual favors.

Epstein was different from most sexual abuse suspects; he was far more powerful. He counted among his friends former President Bill Clinton, Donald Trump and Prince Andrew, along with some of the most prominent legal, scientific and business minds in the country.

When detectives started

*See* EPSTEIN, 6A ▶

Epstein's mysterious lifestyle began to unravel after claims of sexual activity with minors.

03956-81

# Powerful legal team stymies detectives

## A life of luxury and secrecy

TINA FINEBERG/The Associated Press

Jeffrey Epstein's Manhattan townhouse dominates a block on the Upper East Side. Thought to be the largest private residence in Manhattan, it is reported to have closed-circuit television and a heated sidewalk to melt fallen snow.

## Women in his life

**Ghislaine Maxwell, a fixture at elite parties** and the intensely private daughter of a media tycoon, dated Epstein in the 1990s.

**'I'm like a Heidi Fleiss.'** Haley Robson told police she took at least six girls to visit Epstein, all between the ages of 14 and 16.

**PalmBeachPost.com**
Read previous stories on the Epstein investigation.

03956-82

▶ EPSTEIN *from 1A*

asking questions and teenage girls started talking, a wave of legal resistance followed.

If Palm Beach police didn't know quite who Jeffrey Epstein was, they found out soon enough.

Epstein, now 53, was a quintessential man of mystery. He amassed his fortune and friends quietly, always in the background as he navigated New York high society.

When he first attracted notice in the early 1990s, it was on account of the woman he was dating: Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of the late British media tycoon Robert Maxwell.

In a lengthy article, headlined "The Mystery of Ghislaine Maxwell's Secret Love," the British *Mail on Sunday* tabloid laid out speculative stories that the socialite's beau was a CIA spook, a math teacher, a concert pianist or a corporate headhunter.

"But what is the truth about him?" the newspaper wondered. "Like Maxwell, Epstein is both flamboyant and intensely private."

The media frenzy did not begin in full until a decade later. In September 2002, Epstein was flung into the limelight when he flew Clinton and actors Kevin Spacey and Chris Tucker to Africa on his private jet.

Suddenly everyone wanted to know who Epstein was. *New York* magazine and *Vanity Fair* published lengthy profiles. The *New York Post* listed him as one of the city's most eligible bachelors and began describing him in its gossip columns with adjectives such as "mysterious" and "reclusive."

Although Epstein gave no interviews, the broad strokes of his past started to come into focus.

### Building a life of extravagance

He was born blue-collar in 1953, the son of a New York City parks department employee, and raised in Brooklyn's Coney Island neighborhood. He left college without a bachelor's degree but became a math teacher at the prestigious Dalton School in Manhattan.

The story goes that the father of one of Epstein's students was so impressed with the man that he put him in touch with a senior partner at Bear Stearns, the global investment bank and securities firm.

In 1976, Epstein left Dalton for a job at Bear Stearns. By the early 1980s, he had started J. Epstein and Co. That is when he began making his millions in earnest.

Little is known or said about Epstein's business except this: He manages money for the extremely wealthy. He is said to handle accounts only of $1 billion or greater.

It has been estimated he has roughly 15 clients, but their identities are the subject of only speculation. All except for one: Leslie Wexner, founder of The Limited retail chain and a former Palm Beacher who is said to have been a mentor to Epstein.

Wexner sold Epstein one of his most lavish residences: a massive townhouse that dominates a block on Manhattan's Upper East Side. It is reported to have, among its finer features, closed-circuit television and a heated sidewalk to melt away fallen snow.

That townhouse, thought to be the largest private residence in Manhattan, is only a piece of the extravagant world Epstein built over time.

In New Mexico, he constructed a 27,000-square-foot hilltop mansion on a 10,000-acre ranch outside Santa Fe. Many believed it to be the largest home in the state.

In Palm Beach, he bought a waterfront home on El Brillo Way. And he owns a 100-acre private island in the Virgin Islands.

Perhaps as remarkable as his lavish homes is his extensive network of friends and associates at the highest echelons of power. This includes not only socialites but also business tycoons, media moguls, politicians, royalty and Nobel Prize-winning scientists whose research he often funds.

"Just like other people collect art, he collects scientists," said Martin Nowak, who directs the Program for Evolutionary Dynamics at Harvard University and was reportedly the recipient of a $30 million research donation from Epstein.

Epstein is said to have befriended former Harvard President Larry Summers, prominent law Professor Alan Dershowitz, Donald Trump and *New York Daily News* Publisher Mort Zuckerman.

And yet he managed for decades to maintain a low profile. He avoids eating out and was rarely photographed.

"The odd thing is I never met him," said Dominick Dunne, the famous chronicler of the trials and tribulations of the very rich. "I wasn't even aware of him," except for a *Vanity Fair* article.

Epstein's friendship with Clinton has attracted the most attention.

Epstein met Clinton as early as 1995, when he paid tens of thousands of dollars to join him at an intimate fund-raising dinner in Palm Beach. But from all appearances, they did not become close friends until after Clinton left the Oval Office and moved to New York.

Epstein has donated more than $100,000 to Democratic candidates' campaigns, including John Kerry's presidential bid, the reelection campaign of New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson and the Senate bids of Joe Lieberman, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Christopher Dodd and Charles Schumer.

### Powerful friends and enemies

A *Vanity Fair* profile found cracks in the veneer of Epstein's life story. The 2003 article said he left Bear Stearns in the wake of a federal probe and a possible Securities and Exchange Commission violation. It also pointed out that Citibank once sued him for defaulting on a $20 million loan.

The article suggested that one of his business mentors and previous employers was Steven Hoffenberg, now serving a prison term after "bilking investors out of more than $450 million in one of the largest Ponzi schemes in American history."

As he amassed his wealth, Epstein made enemies in disputes both large and small. He sued the man who in 1990 sold him his multimillion-dollar Palm Beach home over a dispute about less than $16,000 in furnishings.

[illegible] rmer friend claimed Epstein [illegible] out of a promise to reimburse him hundreds of thousands of dollars after their failed investment in Texas oil wells. A judge decided Epstein owed him nothing.

"It's a bad memory. I would rather not have ever met Jeffrey Epstein," said Michael Stroll, the retired former president of Williams Electronics and Sega Corp. "Suffice it to say I have nothing good to say about him."

Among the characteristics most attributed to Epstein is a penchant for women.

He has been linked to Maxwell, a fixture on the high-society party circuits in both New York and London. Previous girlfriends are said to include a former Ms. Sweden and a Romanian model.

"He's a lot of fun to be with," Donald Trump told *New York* magazine in 2002. "It is even said that he likes beautiful women as much as I do, and many of them are on the younger side. No doubt about it, Jeffrey enjoys his social life."

## Investigation leads to Epstein

Although he was not a frequenter of the Palm Beach social scene, he made his presence felt. Among his charitable donations, he gave $90,000 to the Palm Beach Police Department and $100,000 to Ballet Florida.

In Palm Beach, he lived in luxury. Three black Mercedes sat in his garage, alongside a green Harley-Davidson. His jet waited at a hangar at Palm Beach International Airport. At home, a private chef and a small staff stood at the ready. From a window in his mansion, he could look out on the Intracoastal Waterway and the West Palm Beach skyline. He seemed to be a man who had everything.

But extraordinary wealth can fuel extraordinary desires.

In March 2005, a worried mother contacted Palm Beach police. She said another parent had overheard a conversation between their children.

Now the mother was afraid her 14-year-old daughter had been molested by a man on the island.

The phone call triggered an extensive investigation, one that would lead detectives to Epstein but leave them frustrated.

Palm Beach police and the state attorney's office have declined to discuss the case. But a Palm Beach police report detailing the criminal probe offers a window into what detectives faced as they sought to close in on Epstein.

Detectives interviewed the girl, who told them a friend had invited her to a rich man's house to perform a massage. She said the friend told her to say she was 18 if asked. At the house, she said she was paid $300 after stripping to her panties and massaging the man while he masturbated.

## Police interview 5 alleged victims

The investigation began in full after the girl identified Epstein in a photo as the man who had paid her. Police arranged for garbage trucks to set aside Epstein's trash so police could sift through it. They set up a video camera to record the comings and goings at his home. They monitored an airport hangar for signs of his private jet's arrivals and departures.

They quickly learned that the woman who took the 14-year-old girl to Epstein's house was Haley Robson, a Palm Beach Community College student from Loxahatchee. In a sworn statement at police headquarters, Robson, then 18, admitted she had taken at least six girls to visit Epstein, all between the ages of 14 and 16. Epstein paid her for each visit, she said.

During the drive back to her house, Robson told detectives, "I'm like a Heidi Fleiss."

Police interviewed five alleged victims and 17 witnesses. Their report shows some of the girls said they had been instructed to have sex with another woman in front of Epstein, and one said she had direct intercourse with him.

In October, police searched the Palm Beach mansion. They discovered photos of naked, young-looking females, just as several of the girls had described in interviews. Hidden cameras were found in the garage area and inside a clock on Epstein's desk, alongside a girl's high school transcript.

Two of Epstein's former employees told investigators that young-looking girls showed up to perform massages two or three times a day when Epstein was in town.

They said the girls were permitted many indulgences. A chef cooked for them. Workers gave them rides and handed out hundreds of dollars at a time.

One employee told detectives he was told to send a dozen roses to one teenage girl after a high school drama performance. Others were given rental cars. One, according to police, received a $200 Christmas bonus.

The cops moved to cement their case. But as they tried to tighten the noose, they encountered other forces at work.

In Orlando they interviewed a possible victim who told them nothing inappropriate had happened between her and Epstein. They asked her whether she had spoken to anyone else. She said yes, a private investigator had asked her the same questions.

When they subpoenaed one of Epstein's former employees, he told them the same thing. He and a private eye had met at a restaurant days earlier to go over what the man would tell investigators.

Detectives received complaints that private eyes were posing as police officers. When they told Epstein's local attorney, Guy Fronstin, he said the investigators worked for Roy Black, the high-powered Miami lawyer who has defended the likes of Rush Limbaugh and William Kennedy Smith.

While the private eyes were conducting a parallel investigation, Dershowitz, the Harvard law professor, traveled to West Palm Beach with information about the girls. From their own profiles on the popular Web site MySpace.com, he obtained copies of their discussions about their use of alcohol and marijuana.

He took his research to a meeting with prosecutors in early 2006, where he sought to cast doubt on the teens' reliability.

— The private eyes had dug up

enough dirt on the girls to make prosecutors skeptical. Not only did some of the girls have issues with drugs or alcohol but also some had criminal records and other troubles, Epstein's legal team claimed. And at least one of them, they said, lied when she told police she was younger than 18 when she started performing massages for Epstein.

After the meeting, prosecutors postponed their decision to take the case to a grand jury.

In the following weeks, police received complaints that two of the victims or their families had been harassed or threatened. Epstein's legal team maintains that its private investigators did nothing illegal or unethical during their research.

By then, relations between police and prosecutors were fraying. At a key meeting with prosecutors and the defense, Detective Joseph Recarey, the lead investigator, was a no-show, according to Epstein's attorney.

"The embarrassment on the prosecutor's face was evident when the police officer never showed up for the meeting," attorney Jack Goldberger said.

Later in April, Recarey walked into a prosecutor's office at the state attorney's office and learned the case was taking an unexpected turn.

The prosecutor, Lanna Belohlavek, told Recarey the state attorney's office had offered Epstein a plea deal that would not require him to serve jail time or receive a felony conviction.

Recarey told her he disapproved of the plea offer.

The deal never came to pass, however.

### Future unclear after charge

On May 1, the department asked prosecutors to approve warrants to arrest Epstein on four counts of unlawful sexual activity with a minor and to charge his personal assistant, Sarah Kellen, now 27, for her alleged role in arranging the visits. Police officials also wanted to charge Robson, the self-described Heidi Fleiss, with lewd and lascivious acts.

By then, the department was frustrated with the way the state attorney's office had handled the case. On the same day the warrants were requested, Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter wrote a letter to State Attorney Barry Krischer suggesting he disqualify himself from the case if he would not act.

Two weeks later, Recarey was told that prosecutors had decided once again to take the case to the grand jury.

It is not known how many of the girls testified before the grand jury. But Epstein's defense team said one girl who was subpoenaed — the one who said she had sexual intercourse with Epstein — never showed up.

The grand jury's indictment was handed down in July. It was not the one the police department had wanted.

Instead of being slapped with a charge of unlawful sexual activity with a minor, Epstein was charged with one count of felony solicitation of prostitution, which carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison. He was booked into the Palm Beach County Jail early July 23 and released hours later.

Epstein's legal team "doesn't dispute that he had girls over for massages," Goldberger said. But he said their claims that they had sexual encounters with him lack credibility.

"They are incapable of being believed," he said. "They had criminal records. They had accusations of theft made against them by their employers. There was evidence of drug use by some of them."

What remains for Epstein is yet to be seen.

The Palm Beach Police Department has asked the FBI to investigate the case. It also has returned the $90,000 Epstein donated in 2004.

In New York, candidates for governor and state attorney general have vowed to return a total of at least $60,000 in campaign contributions from Epstein. Meanwhile, Epstein's powerful friends have remained silent as tabloids and Internet blogs feast on the public details of the police investigation.

Goldberger maintains Epstein's innocence but says the legal team has not ruled out a future plea deal. He insists Epstein will emerge in the end with his reputation untarnished.

"He will recover from this," he said.

*Staff writer Larry Keller and staff researchers Bridget Bulger, Angelica Cortez, Amy Hanaway and Melanie Mena contributed to this story.*

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FD-350 (Rev. 5-8-81)

# Epstein camp calls female accusers liars

By LARRY KELLER
*Palm Beach Post Staff Writer*

Attorneys and publicists for Palm Beach financier Jeffrey Epstein went on the offensive Monday, contending that teenage girls who have accused Epstein of sexual shenanigans at his waterfront home are liars and saying that the Palm Beach Police Department is "childish."

Epstein

"There never was any sex between Jeffrey Epstein and any underage women," his lead attorney, Jack Goldberger, said from Idaho where he was vacationing with his family.

Epstein did have young women come to his house to give him massages, Goldberger said. "Mr. Epstein absolutely insisted anybody who came to his house be over the age of 18. How he verified that, I don't know. The question is, did anything illegal occur. The law was not violated here."

He had no explanation as to why Epstein would pay girls or women with no massage training — as the alleged victims said was the case — $200 to $300 for their visits. "The credibility of these witnesses has been seriously questioned," Goldberger said.

Epstein, 53, was indicted by a county grand jury last month on a charge of felony solicitation of prostitution. After an 11-month investigation that included sifting through Epstein's trash and surveilling his home, Palm Beach police concluded there was enough evidence to charge him with sexual activity with minors. When the grand jury indicted Epstein on the less serious charge, Police Chief Michael Reiter referred the case to the FBI to determine whether there were federal law violations.

After a spate of stories about the case last week, New York publicist Dan Klores — whose client list has included Paris Hilton and Jennifer Lopez — said on Saturday that Epstein's camp was ready "to get their story out."

*See* EPSTEIN, 9B ▶

**'Mr. Epstein absolutely insisted anybody who came to his house be over the age of 18.'**

JACK GOLDBERGER,
Epstein's lead attorney

8/8/06

31E-MM-108062-16

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)
1B / 9B / The Palm Beach Post
West Palm Beach, FL

Date: 8/8/2006
Edition:

Title: Epstein camp calls female accusers liars

Character
or
Classification: 31E-MM-108062
Submitting Office: MM

Indexing:

03956-94

# Attorney: Police gave media 'distorted view'

▶ EPSTEIN *from 1B*

They did that Monday via Goldberger and a Los Angeles publicist for Miami criminal defense attorney Roy Black, who also has represented Epstein in the case.

"We just think there has been a distorted view of this case in the media presented by the Palm Beach police," Goldberger said.

Reiter has consistently declined to comment on the case and did not respond to a request for comment Monday.

The implication that State Attorney Barry Krischer was easy on Epstein by presenting the case to a grand jury rather than filing charges directly against him is wrong, Goldberger said.

The Palm Beach Police Department was "happy and ecstatic" that the panel was going to review the evidence. "I think what happened is they weren't happy with the result. They decided to use the press to embarrass Mr. Epstein."

But records show that Reiter wrote Krischer on May 1 — well before the case went to the grand jury — suggesting that Krischer "consider if good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases."

Rather than flat-out decline to charge Epstein, Krischer referred the case to the grand jury to "appease" the chief, Goldberger said.

A state attorney's spokesman would say only that the office refers cases to the grand jury when there are issues with the viability of the evidence or witnesses' credibility.

Both the state attorney and the grand jury concluded there was not sufficient evidence that Epstein had sex with minors, according to Goldberger. "It was just a childish performance by the Palm Beach Police Department," Goldberger said.

The defense attorney said one of the alleged victims who claimed she was a minor was in fact over the age of 18. Another alleged victim who was subpoenaed to testify to the grand jury failed to do so. Epstein's accusers, he added, have histories of drug abuse and thefts. "These women are liars. We've established that."

But why would they all invent their stories about meeting Epstein for sexual massages?

"I don't have an answer as to what was the motivation for these women to come forward and make these allegations," Goldberger said.

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**Epstein investigation**

Read a letter from Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter to State Attorney Barry Krischer on the Epstein probe.

**PalmBeachPost.com**

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 09/13/2006

**To:** Miami **Attn:** SSA [redacted]
Miami-FIG SIA

**From:** Miami
Squad PB-2, PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted] SM.

**Drafted By:** [redacted] enk

b3 -1
b6 -1, -2
b7C -1, -2

enk

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 ~~(Pending)~~

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To request analytical assistance regarding [redacted]

b7E -1

**Enclosure(s):** [redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7D -2
b7E -1

**Details:** An ongoing federal investigation has revealed that [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3

Enclosed for analytical review are [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7D -2
b7E -1

261enkol.ec 03956-96
31E-MM-108062-17

b6 -1
b7C -1
b7D -2
b7E -1

[redacted]

Please contact SA [redacted] at [redacted] should any further information be needed.

b6 -2
b7C -2

♦♦

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 09/14/2006

**To:** Miami

**From:** Miami
PB-2/West Palm Beach RA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

b6 -2
b7C -2

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:** [redacted]as

**Case ID #:** [redacted] (Pending Inactive)
~~(Pending)~~
~~(Pending)~~
~~(Pending)~~
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~~(Pending)~~
~~(Pending)~~
~~(Pending)~~

b7A -1
b7E -3

**Title:** Case update.

**Synopsis:** Delayed Investigation.

**Details:** For information of the file, investigation in this matter has been delayed due to writer's assignment to a kidnaping investigation [redacted] since 1/17/2006.

b7E -3

♦♦

62D-MM-107021-2

FD-350 (Rev. 5-8-81)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Date: 07/30/2006
Edition: PALM BEACH POST

Title: BILLIONAIRE FACES CHARGE OF SOLICITATION OF MINORS

Character: 31E-MM-108062
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

Indexing:

## Billionaire faces charge of solicitation of minors

**MONDAY:** Palm Beach billionaire Jeffrey Epstein paid to have underage girls and young women brought to his home, where he received massages and sometimes sex, according to an investigation by the Palm Beach Police Department. An indictment was unsealed that charged Epstein, 53, with one count of felony solicitation of prostitution, which carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison. He was released on $3,000 bond. Epstein's attorney, Jack Goldberger, said his client, a money manager for the wealthy, committed no crimes and passed a lie detector test in which he said he did not know the girls were minors.

Epstein

03956-100

31E-MM-108062-18

1

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 09/18/2006

**To:** New York **Attn:** Crimes Against Children
SSA [redacted]
Squad C-20

**From:** Miami
PB2/PBCRA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

⊗
TRS

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:** [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -2
b7C -1, -2

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 ~~(Pending)~~

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** To set lead for captioned investigation.

**Enclosure(s):** One Grand Jury Subpoena for [redacted]
[redacted]

b3 -2

**Details:** On [redacted] the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Palm Beach County Resident Agency (PBCRA), opened an investigation involving multi-millionaire Jeffery Epstein and captioned subjects. The investigation involves [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -3
b7C -1, -3
b7E -4

[redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -1

261trs01.ec

03956-101

31E-MM-108062-19

FBI Miami, PBCRA, request [redacted] [redacted]

b3 -2

Any questions or concerns contact SA [redacted] Miami Division, PBCRA, [redacted]

b6 -2
b7C -2

[redacted] biographical information is the following:

Name
DOB
SSAN
Hair
Eyes
Height
Weight
[redacted]

b6 -1
b7C -1

**LEAD(s):**

**Set Lead 1: (Action)**

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK

It is requested that FBI New York [redacted] In addition, if needed, serve the enclosed subpoena.

b3 -2
b6 -1
b7C -1

♦♦

Automated Serial Permanent Charge-Out
FD-5a (1-5-94)

Date: 06/21/07 Time: 14:03

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062 Serial: 20

Description of Document:

Type : [redacted]
Date :
To :
From : US DIST COURT
Topic: EXECUTED FGJ SUBPOENA

b3 -2

Reason for Permanent Charge-Out:

transfer to subpoena sub

Transferred to:

Case ID: 31E-MM-108062-SBP Serial: 62

Employee: [redacted]

b6 -2
b7C -2

31E-MM-108062-20

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 10/17/2006

**To:** Miami **Attn:** SA [redacted]
PB2/PBCRA

**From:** New York
Squad C-20
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:** [redacted] rwd

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 ~~(Pending)~~ -25

b3 -1
b6 -1, -2
b7C -1, -2

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA- CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** Lead covered for captioned investigation; Grand Jury subpoena served [redacted]

b3 -2

**Reference:** 31E-MM-108062 Serial 19

**Enclosure(s):** Enclosed for Miami is the server copy of the referenced Grand Jury subpoena issued by the United States District Court, Southern District of Florida on 10/06/2006 and served [redacted] on 10/16/2006.

b3 -2

**Details:** On 10/16/2006, SA [redacted] received from SA [redacted], via Federal Express delivery service, the referenced Grand Jury subpoena. On that date, SA [redacted] and SA [redacted]

[redacted]

b3 -2
b6 -2, -5
b7C -2, -5

[redacted]

b3 -2
b6 -2, -5
b7C -2, -5

03956-109

31E-MM-108062-25

[redacted] at the United States District Courthouse located at 701 Clematis Street, West Palm Beach, Florida.

b3 -2
b6 -5
b7C -5

At this time, no further action will be taken by the New York Office in this matter. Lead is covered.

◆◆

# United States District Court

*SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA*

TO: [redacted]

b3 -2

## SUBPOENA TO TESTIFY BEFORE GRAND JURY

FGJ 05-02(WPB)-Fri./No. OLY-19

**SUBPOENA FOR:** [redacted]

**YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED** to appear and testify before the Grand Jury of the United States District Court at the place, date and time specified below.

PLACE:
United States District Courthouse
701 Clematis Street
West Palm Beach, Florida 33401

ROOM:
Room 4-A

DATE AND TIME:
[redacted]

b3 -2
b6 -2
b7C -2

**YOU ARE ALSO COMMANDED** to bring with you the following document(s) or object(s):

[redacted]

**Please coordinate your compliance of this subpoena and confirm the date and time of your appearance with Special Agent [redacted] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Telephone: [redacted]**

This subpoena shall remain in effect until you are granted leave to depart by the court or by an officer acting on behalf of the court.

CLERK

(BY) DEPUTY CLERK

DATE:
October 6, 2006

This subpoena is issued upon application
o[redacted]

Name, Address and Phone Number of Assistant U.S. Attorney
[redacted] Assistant U.S. Attorney
500 So. Australian Avenue, Suite 400
West Palm Beach, FL 33401-6235
Tel: [redacted]
Fax: (561) 802-1787

b6 -6
b7C -6

*If not applicable, enter "none."

To be used in lieu of AO110

FORM ORD-227
JAN.86

(Rev. 01-31-2003)

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**Precedence:** ROUTINE **Date:** 11/09/2006

**To:** Miami

**From:** Miami
PB2/West Palm Beach RA
**Contact:** SA [redacted]

**Approved By:** [redacted]

**Drafted By:** [redacted]

b3 -1
b6 -1, -2
b7C -1, -2

**Case ID #:** 31E-MM-108062 — 33

**Title:** JEFFREY EPSTEIN;
[redacted]
WSTA - CHILD PROSTITUTION

**Synopsis:** Request that SA [redacted] with SOC# [redacted] [redacted] receive holiday pay on November 10, 2006, Veteran's Day, a Federal Holiday.

b6 -2
b7C -2

**Details:** SA [redacted] will be working on gathering data for the Intelligent Analyst that will be coming to the Palm Beach RA on Monday.

b6 -2
b7C -2

♦♦

313d 03.ec

31E-MM-108062 0395612[illegible]

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE FIFTEENTH
JUDICIAL CIRCUIT, CRIMINAL DIVISION
IN AND FOR PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA

IN RE: Search Warrant, Affidavit and Application for Search Warrant, and Inventory and Return

DATED AND SIGNED: 10-19-05

AFFIANTS: Det. [redacted] Palm Beach Police

b6 -4
b7C -4

## ORDER SEALING AFFIDAVIT AND APPLICATION FOR SEARCH WARRANT AND RELATED SEARCH WARRANT AND INVENTORY AND RETURN

THIS CAUSE having come before the Court and the Court having been appraised,

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED pursuant to Florida Statues Chapter 119.07(3)(b) that the Affidavit and Application for Search Warrant signed by Investigator [redacted] as affiant dated and related Search Warrant dated October 18, 2005 hereby **sealed** until further order of the Court.

b6 -4
b7C -4

The Clerk of Court, Criminal Division is hereby ordered to seal said Search Warrant and Affidavit and Application for Search Warrant until further order of the Court.

It is further

ORDERED that the Inventory and Return for Said Search Warrant shall be **sealed** when filed with the Clerk of Court until further order of the Court.

DONE AND ORDERED this 19th day of October at West Palm Beach, Palm Beach County, Florida.

Laura Johnson
Circuit Court Judge

xc: [redacted] Assistant State Attorney

b6 -7
b7C -7

(COPY)

Department of Economics, Harvard University, v. November 9, 2009

# Economics 1545: International Financial and Macroeconomic Policy

## Professor Kenneth Rogoff

**Time and Place:** Fall 2009; M, W, 1–2:30 pm., Sever Hall 203

**Office Hours:** Littauer Center 216. Mondays 3–4 PM, or by appointment

**Email:** [redacted] *(N.B. When sending an email pertaining to this course, please put "1545" in the subject header.)*

**Teaching Assistant:** Thomas Sampson, [redacted]

**Staff Assistant:** Jane Trahan, [redacted]

**Overview:**

This is an advanced international finance and macroeconomics course that uses a mix of theoretical, empirical and policy frameworks to analyze topical problems in international finance.

**Prerequisites:**

Economics 1011b (preferably) or 1010b (Knowledge of basic calculus will be assumed.)

**Background Texts:** (On reserve at Lamont Library, and available for purchase at the COOP)

- *Foundations of International Macroeconomics,* by Maurice Obstfeld and Kenneth Rogoff, MIT Press, 1996.

- *This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*, by Carmen Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff, Princeton University Press, 2009, (selected chapters).

**Readings:**

Readings can be accessed online or are available on Reserve at Lamont Library.

*Primary* readings are denoted by an * symbol. Supplementary readings will be summarized in class but are not required.

**Problem Sets:**

Students are encouraged to work with others on the problem sets, and it is permissible to hand in a single answer sheet for up to three students, with all three receiving the same group grade.

**Course Requirements:**

- Midterm: Wednesday October 14 (in-class, closed book; but exam will provide most of the basic formulas you might require, to lessen need for memorization). Analytical problems on the exam will closely parallel material covered in problem sets (but will generally require much less algebra), and the essay problem will relate to a central topic covered extensively in class.
- Final: The final will have a larger essay component than the mid-term. The final will draw on the entire course, though any technical material on the final will be closely related to material covered in Problem Set III.
- Short policy paper: You will be asked to write a short policy paper on a topic drawn from a list of questions relating to reform of the international monetary system. A one-page outline of your paper is due on Wednesday, October 28 or before my first meeting with your group, whichever is earlier, and the complete paper is due on Monday November 16. These papers will form the basis for class discussions and (depending on class size) in-class presentations during the final four meetings of the class. The papers are intended to be short and succinct—there is an absolute total page limit of 10 double-spaced (12 pt.) pages (roughly 2500 words): Only figures and references are excluded in this limit. *The papers do not need to include any formal analytical or econometric analysis*; you may write them in a style you find suitable to the question you are addressing. The final exam will include (a choice of) essay questions relating to the paper topics that you and your classmates have chosen.
- Problems: There will be 3 problem sets, due Sept 14, Oct. 5 and Nov 16.

**Grades:**

Problems: 10%, Mid-term: 20%, Final: 35%, Paper: 35%

**Topics**

## I. MODELS OF EXCHANGE RATES

*Rogoff, Kenneth, "Dornbusch's Overshooting Model After Twenty-Five Years," IMF Staff Papers 49, Special Issue, 2002 (35 pages). (This link is to a slightly earlier version that will give you a higher quality printout.)

*Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 513-530.

Frankel, Jeffrey, and Andrew Rose, 1995, "Empirical Research on Nominal Exchange Rates," in G Grossman and K Rogoff (eds), *Handbook of International Economics*, vol. 3 (Elsevier).

Rogoff, Kenneth and Vania Stavrakeva, "The Continuing Puzzle of Short-Horizon Exchange Rate Forecasting," manuscript, Harvard University, July 30, 2008.

## II. THE PURCHASING POWER PARITY PUZZLE AND RELATED PUZZLES

*Kenneth Rogoff, "The Purchasing Power Parity Puzzle," *Journal of Economic Literature* 34, June 1996, 647-68.

*Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 199-225.

Imbs, Jean, Haroon Mumtaz, Morton O. Ravn, and Helene Rey, "PPP Strikes Back: Aggregation and the Real Exchange Rate," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120(1): 1–43.

Goldberg, Penny K. and Michael Knetter, "Goods Prices and Exchange Rates: What Have We Learned?" *Journal of Economic Literature* 35 (September 1997): 1243–72.

Taylor, Alan, M., "Potential Pitfalls for the Purchasing-Power Parity Puzzle? Sampling and Specification Biases in Mean-Reversion Tests of the Law of One Price," *Econometrica* 69(2) (March 2001): 473-98.

Reidel, Demian and Jan Szilagyi, "A Biased View of PPP," manuscript, Harvard University, February 2005.

*Gopinath, Gita and Ricardo Rigobon, "Sticky Borders," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(2): 531–575.

## III. SPECULATIVE EXCHANGE RATE ATTACKS

### Basic models and empirical issues: Salant–Henderson–Krugman model, multiple equilibria (“generation 2”).

*Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 558-567, 635-638, 648-653.

## IV. BANK RUNS AND THE PERSISTENCE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

*Diamond, Douglas and Philip H. Dybvig, "Bank Runs, Deposit Insurance, and Liquidity," *Journal of Political Economy* 91(3): 401-19, June 1983.

*Bernanke, Ben, “Nonmonetary Effects of the Financial Crisis in the Propagation of the Great Depression,” *American Economic Review* 73 (June 1983): 257-76.

Cole, Harold and Lee Ohanian, “New Deal Policies and the Persistence of the Great Depression,” *Journal of Political Economy*, 112(4) August, 2004, 779-816.

Eggertsson, Gauti, “Great Expectations and the End of the Great Depression,” *American Economic Review* 98, September 2008, 1476-1516.

Bernanke, Ben S. *Essays on the Great Depression*. Princeton University Press, 2000.

Gorton, Gary and Andrew Metrick, “Securitized Banking and the Run on Repo,” Yale ICF Working Paper No. 09-14.

Gorton, Gary and Andrew Metrick, “Haircuts,” Yale ICF Working Paper No. 09-15.

### Also: International transmission of the Great Depression via faults in the inter-war gold standard.

*Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 626-630.

*Eichengreen, Barry and Jeffrey Sachs, “Exchange Rates and Economic Recovery in the 1930s,” *Journal of Economic History*, vol. XLV, no. 4, December 1985, also NBER working paper 1498, May 1986.

## V. PERFORMANCE OF EXCHANGE RATE REGIMES

*Rose, Andrew, "One Money, One Market: Estimating the Effects of a Common Currency on Trade," *Economic Policy* 15(30), April 2000, 7–45.

Klein, Michael W. and Jay C. Shambaugh, “Fixed Exchange Rates and Trade,” NBER Working Paper 10696, August 2004.

*Husain, Aasim, Ashoka Mody, and Kenneth Rogoff, "Exchange Rate Durability and Performance in Developing versus Advanced Economies," *Journal of Monetary Economics* 52 (January 2005), 35-64. (Click on Digital Object Identifier (DOI).)

Baldwin, Richard, Di Nino, Virginia, Fontagne, Lionel, De Santis, Roberto, and Taglioni, Daira, "Study on the Impact of the Euro on Trade and Foreign Direct Investment," *European Economic and Monetary Union Working Paper No. 321*, May 2008. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1163774

Frankel, Jeffrey, "The Estimated Effects of the Euro on Trade: Why Are They Below Historical Effects of Monetary Unions Among Smaller Countries?" NBER working paper 14542 (December 2008).

Tenreyro, Silvana, "Currency Unions in Prospect and Retrospect," manuscript, London School of Economics and Political Science, October 2009

## VI. GLOBAL CURRENT ACCOUNT IMBALANCES

*Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 1-84.

*Obstfeld, Maurice and Kenneth Rogoff, "The Unsustainable US Current Account Position Revisited," in Richard Clarida (ed.), *G7 Current Account Imbalances: Sustainability and Adjustment*, University of Chicago Press, 2007 (with revisions).

Gourinchas, Pierre-Olivier and Helene Rey, 2007, "International Financial Adjustment," *Journal of Political Economy* 115(4), 665-703.

*Cooper, Richard, "Global Imbalances: Globalization, Demography, and Sustainability," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 2008, Issue 3, 93-112.

Dooley, Michael P., Peter Garber and David Folkerts Landau, "The Revived Bretton Woods System: The Effects of Periphery Intervention and Reserve Management on Interest Rates & Exchange Rates in Center Countries," NBER Working Paper 10332, March 2004.

## VII. GLOBAL CAPITAL MARKET INTEGRATION: ADVANCED COUNTRIES

*Obstfeld, Maurice and Kenneth Rogoff, "The Six Major Puzzles in International Macroeconomics: Is There a Common Cause?" in Ben Bernanke and Kenneth Rogoff (eds.), *NBER Macroeconomics Annual 2000* (Cambridge: MIT Press), pp. 339-390 (Comments 390-412). Lecture notes.

*Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 161-164.

Guo, Kai, "Exchange Rates and Asset Prices in An Open Economy with Rare Disasters," mimeo, Harvard University, October 2007.

## VIII. GLOBAL CAPITAL MARKET INTEGRATION: DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

*Kose, M. Ayhan, Eswar Prasad, Kenneth Rogoff and Shang-Jin Wei, "Financial Globalization, A Reappraisal," December 2006 (revised version of International Monetary Fund, Working Paper WP/06/189, August 2006)**.**

## IX. WHY MONEY FLOWS FROM NORTH TO SOUTH

*Moral Hazard: Obstfeld and Rogoff: pp. 407- 419.

Externalities to Human Capital: Robert E. Lucas, 1988, "Why Doesn't Capital Flow from Rich to Poor Countries," *American Economic Review*, May 1990, pp. 92-96.

Alfaro, Laura, Sebnem Kalemli-Ozcan, Vadym Volosovych, "Why Doesn't Capital Flow from Rich to Poor Countries? An Empirical Investigation," NBER working paper 11901, December 2005.

## X. JAPAN'S DEFLATION TRAP

*Krugman, Paul, "It's Baaack: Japan's Slump and the Return of the Liquidity Trap," *Brookings Papers on Macroeconomic Activity,* 1998, v2, 137-205. (including comment by Dominguez and Rogoff) (N.B.: Our focus will be on the analytics as covered in the HANDOUT).

Eggertsson, Gauti B. and Michael Woodford, "The Zero Bound on Interest Rates and Optimal Monetary Policy," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 34 (2003), volume 1, 139-235

## XI. INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CRISES

*Reinhart, Carmen and Kenneth Rogoff, "Is the 2007 US Sub-Prime Financial Crisis So Different? An International Historical Comparison," *American Economic Review* 98 (May 2008): 339-344.

*Reinhart, Carmen and Kenneth Rogoff, "The Aftermath of Financial Crises," *American Economic Review* 99 (May 2009): 466-472.

*Reinhart, Carmen and Kenneth Rogoff, *This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*, Princeton University Press, 2009, (selected chapters).

Reinhart, Carmen and Kenneth Rogoff, "Banking Crises: An Equal Opportunity Menace, manuscript, Harvard University, December 2008.

*Allen, Franklin, and Douglas Gale, *Understanding Financial Crises*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, ch 3.

Geanakoplos, John, "The Leverage Cycle," forthcoming in *NBER Macroeconomics Annual 2009*, Daron Acemoglu, Kenneth Rogoff, and Michael Woodford (eds), April 10, 2009.

Bolton, Patrick, Tony Santos and Jose Scheinkman, "Inside and Outside Liquidity," mimeo, Princeton University, March 30, 2009,

Diamond, Douglas and Raghuram Rajan, "Liquidity Shortages and Banking Crises," NBER working paper 10071, October 2003.

Bolton, Patrick, and Mathias Dewatripont, *Contract Theory*, Cambridge: MIT Press. 2005, pp. 397-418.

Gorton, Gary, "Slapped in the Face by the Invisible Hand: Banking and the Panic of 2007," mimeo, Yale University, April 3, 2007. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/cf_dev/AbsByAuth.cfm?per_id=17513

## XII. OIL AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

*Dvir, Eyal and Kenneth Rogoff, "The Three Epochs of Oil," mimeo, Harvard University, March 2009.

## XIII. MONEY, EXCHANGE RATES AND PRICES: SELECTED TOPICS, SEIGNIORAGE AND COMMODITY CURRENCIES

Lecture notes on "Money, Inflation, and Exchange Rates."

## SECTION II: Paper Topics

## BACKGROUND READINGS

### 1. Should Sweden enter the euro system with four years?

Reade, J.J. and U. Volz (2009a), Too Much to Lose, or More to Gain? Should Sweden Join the Euro?, Economics Series Working Papers 442, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, Oxford.

Also see shorter Voxeu essay, Reade, J. James and Ulrich Volze, "Should Sweden join the eurozone?" http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/3955

Grahn, Ralf (2009): 'Swedish opinion on euro turns', Grahnlaw Blogspot*,* 19 April

Calmfors, L., H. Flam, N. Gottfries, M. Jerneck, R. Lindahl, J. Haaland Matlary, C. Nordh Berntsson, E. Rabinowicz and A. Vredin (1997), *EMU: A Swedish Perspective*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, Dordrecht and London.

Baldwin, R, (2006), "In or Out? Does it Matter? An Evidence Based Analysis of the Euro's Trade Effects," Center for Economic Policy Research, London.

Ferreira-Lopes, A, (2008), "In or Out?" The Welfare Costs of EMU membership," Economic Research Center Working paper 14/08, ISCTE, Lisbon University Institute

Soderstrum, U (2008), "Re-evaluating Swedish Membership in EMU: Evidence from an Estimated Model," NBER Working Paper 14519.

Vaubel, R, (2004), "A Critical Analysis of EMU and of Sweden Joining It," in J. Ljungberg (ed), *The Price of the Euro*, Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 87-95

European Commission on Economic and Financial Affairs, "Sweden and the Euro: A Factsheet," http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/the_euro/your_country_euro9164_en.htm

HM Treasury, *UK Membership in the Single Currency: An assessment of the five economic tests*, June 2003 (246 pages).

Lucrezia Reichlin and Giancarlo Corsetti, "Should the UK join the euro?" *The Edge* 11 (November 2002): 22-25. A PDF file of the magazine is available at http://www.sais-jhu.edu/faculty/sandleris/IMT/Readings/R_Reichlin_ShouldUKjointheEuro.pdf

Buti, Marco and Vitor Gaspar, The First Ten Years of the Euro, VOX, December 2008.

Frankel, Jeffrey, The Euro at ten: Why do effects on trade between members appear smaller than historical estimates among smaller countries? Dec 2008

The Single Market and the Euro

Philip Lane, "The Real Effects of Monetary Union," (2006) *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20(4): 47-66.

Frankel, Jeffrey, "The Estimated Effects of the Euro on Trade: Why Are They Below Historical Effects of Monetary Unions Among Smaller Countries?" NBER working paper 14542, December 2008

Buiter, Willem, "Why the United Kingdom Should Join the Eurozone," forthcoming *International Finance* 2008 (Also at NBER.)

Tenreyro, Silvana, "Currency Unions in Prospect and Retrospect," manuscript, London School of Economics and Political Science, October 2009

**2. The US has significant risk (30% or greater) of experiencing pronounced Japan-like symptoms over the next 5-10 years: especially much lower medium term growth than before the crisis, soaring budget deficits, more frequent than usual recessions.**

Giannetti, Mariassunta and Andrei Simonov (2009). "On the real effects of bank bailouts: Micro-Evidence from Japan," EFA 2009 Bergen Meetings, June.

Mariassunta Giannetti Andrei Simonov, The real effects of bank bailouts: Evidence from Japan, Voxeu http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/4011

Keiichiro Kobayashi, The G20's Blind Spot: President Obama must squarely face the bad asset problem, March 26, 2009

Hoshi, Takeo and Anil K. Kashyap, 2008, "Will the U.S. Bank Recapitalization Succeed? Lessons from Japan", NBER Working Paper 14401.

Adam Posen, "Seven Reasons the US Today is Not Like Japan 15 Years Ago," Institute for International Economics, September, 2008 http://www.iie.com/realtime/?p=20

Maurice Obstfeld, "Time of Troubles: The Yen and Japan's Economy, 1985-2008" NBER Working paper 14816, March 2009

**3. The G-20 is right to focus on containing global (current account) imbalances to well below their pre-crisis levels (say to roughly half or less within four years). US must achieve higher national savings rate, if necessary substantially strengthening financial regulation and oversight. China must allow its exchange rate to significantly appreciate over time, and redirect production towards domestic demand instead of exports.**

Obsteld, Maurice and Kenneth Rogoff, "Global Imbalances and the Financial Crisis: Products of Common Causes," Harvard University, October 13, 2009.

Cooper, Richard, "Global Imbalances: Globalization, Demography, and Sustainability," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 2008, Issue 3, 93-112.

Michael P. Dooley, David Folkerts-Landau, Peter Garber, "The Revived Bretton Woods System: The Effects of Periphery Intervention and Reserve Management on Interest Rates & Exchange Rates in Center Countries," NBER Working Paper 10332, March 2004.

Michael P. Dooley, David Folkerts-Landau, Peter Garber, "An Essay on the Revived Bretton Woods System," NBER Working Paper 9971, September 2003.

Prasad, Eswar and Raghu Rajan, "A Pragmatic Approach to Capital Account Liberalization," working paper, Cornell University, 2008

Goldstein, Morris, "A (Lack of) Progress Report on China's Exchange Rate Policies," Working Paper 07-5, Peterson Institute, June 2007.

Policy Brief 07-4: Global Imbalances: Time for Action, Peterson Institute for International Economics.

Lardy, Nicholas R., China: Toward a Consumption-Driven Growth Path, Policy Brief 06-6, Peterson Institute, October 2006.

Goldstein, Morris, and Nicholas Lardy, *Debating China's Exchange Rate Policy,* Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008 (**This book has an excellent collection of topical articles)** (**Also available in hard copy at Harvard libraries.**)

Cline, William, and John Williamson, "Equilibrium exchange rates," Voxeu, April 2009. http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/3666

**Date:** Friday, March 4 2011 07:03 PM
**Subject:** Re:
**From:** R. Couri Hay <[redacted]>
**To:** jeevacation@gmail.com;

---

Good morning Jeffery,

The Newsweek story is being written without your input as you read this. Lloyd Grove is not writing the story, he made a few calls but he was taken off the project. This is for Newsweek, the magazine that is on the stands, not the website. It's still 1200 to 1500 words. Alexandra Wolfe needs to turn in a draft of the story by Monday. I've been subtly guiding Alexandra on your behalf, but would really like to formalize this job with your attorneys and then I would really need to give names and numbers of pro Jeffery power brokers for Alexandra to call. She has already called Donald Trump, Leon Black, and Les Wexner among others. I've given her Jonathans number, please let me focus on this before its too late to spin this in your direction. I'm in all afternoon my office number is [redacted]. My cell is: [redacted] My email is[redacted]

Cheers,
Couri

Follow me on Twitter!! RCouriHay1

---Original Message-----
From: jeffrey epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: R. Couri Hay <[redacted]>
Sent: Tue, Mar 1, 2011 6:34 pm
Subject: Re: Re:

I was told it was lloyd grove Not true?

Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone
On Mar 1, 2011, at 3:16 PM, "R. Couri Hay" <[redacted] wrote:

> Hi Jeffrey
> I hope I'm not bothering you, but this is information I think you need to know. Tina Brown has assigned a 1200 to 1500 word story with pictures about you for Newsweek and the deadline is next Wednesday. My good friend Alexandra Wolfe is writing the story; she called me within an hour of getting this assignment. If you hire me I feel confident that I can positively affect this feature on your behalf. That does not mean I can control it completely or that they won't reference past problems. However, I can assure you that the story will be fair and balanced and that your side will be represented intelligently. The story will be about your reemergence in New York post your previous problems. The party you gave for Prince Andrew will be a big part of it. I suggest we arrange for interviews with figures who have seen the good things that you have done in business, science, and philanthropy. I'll be home after 7:30 tonight. My home number is [redacted], or you can call my cell at [redacted]. I will also be in tomorrow morning. I suggest you act swiftly in this matter. As I told you when we first met this story wont go away and you need to take positive steps to change your image.
> Cheers,
> Couri
>
> Follow me on Twitter!! RCouriHay1

=

**From:** Jay Lefkowitz [redacted]
**Sent:** 3/8/2011 4:40:35 PM
**To:** Michael S. Sitrick [redacted]; Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Fw:

**Importance:** High

**Privileged - Redacted**

----- Original Message -----
From: Jay Lefkowitz
Sent: 03/08/2011 10:39 AM CST
To: "Wolfe, Alexandra" [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Alexandra,

I have not been able to respond to your questions because Mr. Epstein is traveling.

But if you plan to make any factual assertions about him in your article, I hope you will run the facts by me, as you said yesterday you would do.

Mr. Epstein has been the subject of many inaccurate and misleading articles, and I am sure Newsweek would not want to make such a mistake or worse, libel him.

Best,

Jay

----- Original Message -----
From: "Wolfe, Alexandra" [redacted]
Sent: 03/07/2011 02:04 PM EST
To: Jay Lefkowitz
Subject: RE:

Dear Mr. Lefkowitz,

Here are the questions I'd like to ask Jeffrey Epstein. Would he be available to answer any of these on the phone or by email? People have told me some of his thoughts on background but I wanted to see if he could tell me or email me anything directly I could use on the record. Also I'd like to run the information I already have by you or him.

Thank you,
Alexandra

-What is he chiefly focusing on now? Is he spending more time on The Jeffrey Epstein Science Foundation? Could he talk about his interest in science and the 2011 grants/conference?
-How has his business been affected? Is there any new direction he's taking it? Does he still have the same clients or new ones? Is it still at $15 billion?
-Did he still work while in prison? How was that arranged? With whom was he working/advising?
-Where is he spending his time now? How has his social life changed from three years ago?
-Is he still close with Ghislaine Maxwell?
-What were friends/colleagues/acquaintances reactions to his conviction?
-What does he think about the sentence he got- was it too lenient or too harsh and why?
-What is his side of the story and have people been supportive?
-Is he continuing the charity initiatives he started with Bill Clinton, etc?

-----Original Message-----
From: Jay Lefkowitz [redacted]
Sent: Mon 3/7/2011 12:18 PM
To: Wolfe, Alexandra
Subject:

Dear Ms. Wolfe,

I understand you have some questions about my client, Jeffrey Epstein. Given that much of the press coverage surrounding Mr. Epstein has been inaccurate and in some instances, defamatory, I would like to suggest that you send me any facutal questions so that I can provide you with accurate responses.

I am also available to speak with you. My number is [redacted]

Thank you,

Jay

************************************************************
The information contained in this communication is confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may constitute inside information, and is intended only for the use of the addressee. It is the property of Kirkland & Ellis LLP or Kirkland & Ellis International LLP. Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to postmaster@kirkland.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments.
************************************************************

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
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************************************************************

**From:** Jay Lefkowitz [[redacted]]
**Sent:** 3/8/2011 4:41:04 PM
**To:** Michael S. Sitrick [[redacted]]; Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject:** Fw: Alexandra Wolfe called from Newsweek

**Importance:** High

----- Original Message -----
From: Kristin Andersen
Sent: 03/08/2011 11:09 AM EST
To: Jay Lefkowitz
Subject: Alexandra Wolfe called from Newsweek

**Privileged - Redacted**

----- Forwarded by Kristin Andersen/New York/Kirkland-Ellis on 03/08/2011 11:05 AM -----

"Wolfe, Alexandra"
[redacted]

To
"Jay Lefkowitz"
[redacted]

cc

03/07/2011 02:09 PM

Subject
RE:

Dear Mr. Lefkowitz,

Here are the questions I'd like to ask Jeffrey Epstein. Would he be available to answer any of these on the phone or by email? People have told me some of his thoughts on background but I wanted to see if he could tell me or email me anything directly I could use on the record. Also I'd like to run the information I already have by you or him.

Thank you,
Alexandra

-What is he chiefly focusing on now? Is he spending more time on The Jeffrey Epstein Science Foundation? Could he talk about his interest in science and the 2011 grants/conference?
-How has his business been affected? Is there any new direction he's taking it? Does he still have the same clients or new ones? Is it still at $15 billion?
-Did he still work while in prison? How was that arranged? With whom was he working/advising?
-Where is he spending his time now? How has his social life changed from three years ago?
-Is he still close with Ghislaine Maxwell?
-What were friends/colleagues/acquaintances reactions to his conviction?
-What does he think about the sentence he got- was it

too lenient or too harsh and why?
-What is his side of the story and have people been supportive?
-Is he continuing the charity initiatives he started with Bill Clinton, etc?

-----Original Message-----
From: Jay Lefkowitz [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Mon 3/7/2011 12:18 PM
To: Wolfe, Alexandra
Subject:

Dear Ms. Wolfe,

I understand you have some questions about my client, Jeffrey Epstein. Given that much of the press coverage surrounding Mr. Epstein has been inaccurate and in some instances, defamatory, I would like to suggest that you send me any facutal questions so that I can provide you with accurate responses.

I am also available to speak with you. My number is [redacted].

Thank you,

Jay

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**Date:** Monday, August 26 2013 02:46 PM
**Subject:** FW: Press Snapshot: Monday, August 26th, 2013
**From:** Boris Nikolic <[redacted]
**To:** Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;
**Attachments:** image001.jpg; image002.jpg

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See good article re balmer below.

Still awaiting for call reply

Sent from my Windows Phone

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**From:** John Pinette
**Sent:** 8/26/2013 4:17 PM
**To:** Bill Gates
**Cc:** DL-Press Snapshot
**Subject:** Press Snapshot: Monday, August 26th, 2013

bgC3 Press Snapshot

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## ARTICLE TEXT

**Energy – Full text articles**

Nuclear Operator Raises Alarm on Crisis
Hiroko Tabuchi – **New York Times**

The operator of Japan’s tsunami-hit nuclear power plant sounded the alarm on the gravity of the deepening crisis of containment at the coastal site on Friday, saying that there are more than 200,000 tons of radioactive water in makeshift tanks vulnerable to leaks, with no reliable way to check on them or anywhere to transfer the water.

The latest disclosures add to a long list of recent accidents, leaks and breakdowns that have underscored grave vulnerabilities at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant site more than two years after a powerful earthquake and tsunami set off meltdowns at three reactors.

They come two weeks after the prime minister, Shinzo Abe, promised that his government would take a more active role in the site’s cleanup, raising questions over how seriously he has taken that pledge. Mr. Abe’s government has continued to push for a restart of the country’s nuclear power program, and he heads to the Middle East on Saturday to promote Japanese exports to the region, including nuclear technology.

Mr. Abe also plans to lead Tokyo’s delegation to Argentina for the International Olympic Committee’s final vote, set for Sept. 7, on the host city for the 2020 Olympics. Tokyo, 150 miles south of the stricken nuclear power plant, is one of three finalists competing to host the games. The others are Istanbul and Madrid.

Opposition lawmakers here have demanded that Mr. Abe stay home and declare a state of emergency.

“The nuclear crisis is real and ongoing, yet the government continues to look the other way,” said Yoshiko Kira of the opposition Japan Communist Party, which made significant gains in parliamentary elections last month.

“The government should declare a state of emergency right now, and intervene to stop the outflow of contaminated water,” Ms. Kira said at an anti-nuclear rally outside Mr. Abe’s office in Tokyo.

Mr. Abe remains popular, and it is uncertain how large a liability the crisis at the Fukushima plant will become for him.

But it has become increasingly clear that the latest problems may be too large for the plant’s operator, the Tokyo Electric Power Company, or Tepco, to handle.

Tepco has built nearly 1,000 tanks at the sprawling complex to store as many as 335,000 tons of contaminated water, the product of coolant pumped into the reactors to keep their cores from overheating, and groundwater pouring into their breached basements at a rate of 400 tons a day. This week, Tepco said one tank had sprung a huge leak.

On Friday, Tepco presented an even starker view of the situation, acknowledging that as much as 220,000 tons of that water is stored in makeshift steel tanks similar to the one that is leaking. The operator said the 36-foot-tall cylindrical tanks, meant as a temporary repository for the growing amount of radiated water at the complex, used vulnerable rubber sealing and that their ability to withstand radiation was not tested.

The tanks are susceptible to leaks at the seams and through their concrete base, said Noriyuki Imaizumi, the acting general manager of Tepco’s nuclear power division. A nearby drain can carry any leaked water to the sea, Mr. Imaizumi said, and high radiation readings along a section suggest that water has already traveled through the drain to the ocean.

The makeshift tanks also lack water level gauges, making it difficult to detect leaks. Only two workers are assigned to checking nearly 1,000 tanks on two-hour patrols twice a day, Mr. Imaizumi said.

The Nuclear Regulation Authority, which the Japanese government ordered to more actively advise and monitor Tepco’s activities at the plant, had told the company to begin transferring the water from the makeshift tanks to better-built vessels. But after visiting the plant on Friday, an authority commissioner, Toyoshi Fuketa, said the vast quantities made doing so quickly “unrealistic.”

A series of pits Tepco dug to store some of the water also began leaking earlier this year, forcing workers to transfer the water into the steel tanks.

Experts have said they suspect that more contaminated water is seeping out from under the melted-down reactors into the groundwater and the Pacific. Elevated levels of radioactive cesium in surrounding waters seem to confirm those suspicions.

Tepco has said those leaks are not directly from beneath the reactors, but from maintenance tunnels that run along the coast and remain contaminated from the early days of the disaster.

But it also acknowledges that the water beneath the reactors is extremely contaminated, and experts say that if it does get into the ocean, it will surpass even the leaks that occurred in the disaster's early days.

"That prospect scares me," Michio Aoyama, a senior scientist in the Oceanography and Geochemistry Research Department at the government-affiliated Meteorological Research Institute, said in an interview this month.

"It's the ultimate, worst-case scenario," Professor Aoyama said.

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## The New Nuclear Craze
Mark Bittman - **New York Times**

There is a new discussion about nuclear energy, prompted by well-founded concerns about carbon emissions and fueled by a pro-nuclear documentary called "Pandora's Promise." Add a statement by James E. Hansen — who famously sounded the alarm on climate change — and, of course, industry propaganda, and presto: We Love Nukes.

Before we all become pro-nuclear greens, however, you've got to ask three questions: Is nuclear power safe and clean? Is it economical? And are there better alternatives?

No, no and yes. So let's not swap the pending environmental disaster of climate change for another that may be equally risky.

Despite all-out efforts and international cooperation, Fukushima, which scared Germany right out of the nuclear power business, still isn't under control. Proponents of nuclear power promise new and safer technology, but these discussions are filled with "coulds"; no such plants exist. Nor would they reduce the risks of proliferation. (Oh, that little thing.)

Nor would they do much to mitigate the all-too-infrequently discussed dangers of uranium mining, which uses vast amounts of water in the West — an area that can ill afford it — and is barely regulated or even studied. Thousands of uranium mines have been abandoned, and no one seems to know how many remain to be cleaned up. The cost of that cleanup, of course, will be borne by taxpayers, not industry.

Then there's disposal of spent fuel, which is not contained at the same safety level as active fuel, itself a scary thought. Decades into the nuclear age there remains, incredibly, no real plan for this; a patchwork scheme by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which appears to be even more industry-friendly than most federal agencies, was rejected by an appeals court last year, and the Obama administration is standing by its campaign promise (shocking, I know) to abandon the nuclear repository at Yucca Mountain in Nevada.

The economic viability of nuclear power is no more encouraging. Plants continue to close and generation rates continue to drop. Operators may indeed continue to make money on reactors, but that's only because federal subsidies are enormous. Insurance costs are limited. Loans are guaranteed (the Solyndra loan guarantee was half a billion dollars; in contrast, loan guarantees for new nuclear plants may run $8 billion); cost recovery and return on investment are also assured for decades, and some operators are able to collect costs from ratepayers (and pay dividends to shareholders) years before plants come online — even if they never come online.

So they're economical as long as you're the owner, because historically, subsidies for nuclear power have been more than double the expense of power generation itself. While estimates of the costs of power generation vary wildly — allowing both proponents and detractors of any given power technology to make their cases — few of them take externalities (costs to the environment or to public health, for example) into account. And nuclear power's externalities could exceed those for any other form of power generation except coal.

That's why we're reducing coal usage — if we had a strong climate policy it would be gone in a couple of deades, and nuclear should be right behind it. It's likely that no new nuclear plants will be built before true renewables are able to take the place of scary, highly damaging energy sources.

Which brings us full circle: the new proponents of nuclear power say that since nuclear power is arguably preferable to coal, maybe we should subsidize the building of new plants.

If those were the only options, maybe that argument would be a sound one. But they're not. Energy efficiency (remember that?), natural gas (imperfect, yes, but improvable) and wind are all cheaper. Even solar is already less expensive than nuclear power in good locations.

Some studies show that renewables can generate 80 percent of our electricity in 2050, using current technologies, while reducing carbon emissions from the electric sector by 80 percent. Climate change fears should be driving not old and disproven technologies but renewable ones, which are more practical. These technologies remain relatively small — non-hydro renewables were around 5 percent of the total last year — but they're growing so fast (wind and solar use have quadrupled in the last five years) that just this week the chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission predicted that solar power could soon begin to double every two years.

Utilities are afraid that solar power will be to the electrical grid what PCs were to mainframes, or e-mail to the Postal Service: a technology that will simply kill its predecessors. Coal and nuclear power are both doomed, and the profit-making power grid with it. That's all to our benefit.

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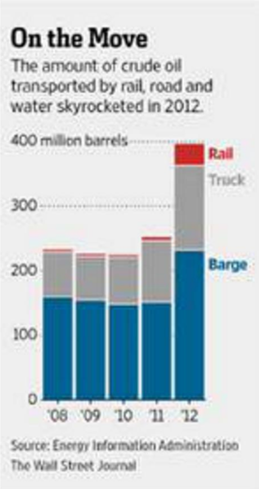
## Pipeline-Capacity Squeeze Reroutes Crude Oil

Russell Gold – **Wall Street Journal**

More crude oil is moving around the U.S. on trucks, barges and trains than at any point since the government began keeping records in 1981, as the energy industry devises ways to get around a pipeline-capacity shortage to take petroleum from new wells to refineries.

The improvised approach is creating opportunities for transportation companies even as it strains roads and regulators. And it is a precursor to what may be a larger change: the construction of more than $40 billion in oil pipelines now under way or planned for the next few years, according to energy adviser Wood Mackenzie.

"We are in effect re-plumbing the country," says Curt Anastasio, chief executive of NuStar Energy LP, NS +0.58% a pipeline company in San Antonio. Oil is "flowing in different directions and from new places."



**On the Move**

The amount of crude oil transported by rail, road and water skyrocketed in 2012.

Source: Energy Information Administration
The Wall Street Journal

U.S. oil production has reached its highest level in two decades, while imports have fallen dramatically. A system built to import oil and deliver it to coastal refineries has become ill-equipped to handle rising production in Texas, North Dakota and Canada's Alberta province.

"All of the pipes are pointed in the wrong direction," says Harold York, an oil researcher at Wood Mackenzie. "We are turning the last 70 years of oil-industry history in North America on its head, and we are turning it on its head in the next 10 to 15 years."

With oil prices persistently above $100 a barrel, companies drilling new wells don't want to forgo revenue while they wait years for new pipelines. That leaves them with trucks, trains and barges to move an increasing amount of crude.

Oil delivered to refineries by trucks grew 38% from 2011 to 2012, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, while crude on barges grew 53% and rail deliveries quadrupled. Although alternatives are growing rapidly, pipelines and oceangoing tankers remain the primary method for delivering crude to refineries.

In the Eagle Ford, a large four-year-old South Texas oil field, production has grown to more than 500,000 barrels a day, from less than 1,000 in 2009, according to state statistics. Getting that torrent out of the sparsely populated region has required modifications to the oil-delivery system.

For example, last year NuStar reversed a 16-inch pipeline built to carry crude imported from Africa and Europe northward from the Port of Corpus Christi. Now, the pipeline flows south, taking delivery from hundreds of trucks that fill up at individual wells. Some of the 175,000 barrels a day moving through the pipe is loaded onto barges at Corpus Christi and towed toward refineries near Houston.

Earlier this year, Phillips 66 began putting some of this crude on ships for a 2,200-mile journey around Florida to its refinery in Linden, N.J.

The heavy trucks moving Eagle Ford crude are causing headaches for residents and local officials, ripping up roads and causing traffic tie-ups.

"These are rural roads built for 10 cars an hour, and now it's 100 vehicles an hour, and 75 of them are 80,000-pound trucks," says Tom Voelkel, president of Dupre Logistics LLC. The Lafayette, La., company started hauling crude in Eagle Ford in November 2011 and has more than 100 drivers full time in the region.

The Texas Legislature appropriated $450 million this year to repair and improve roads in oil-producing counties. "It doesn't even begin to reach where it needs to reach," says Daryl Fowler, the chief elected county official in Cuero, Texas, about a hundred miles southeast of San Antonio.

"We've seen a fourfold increase in congestion around here," he says. "The roads are crumbling."

In July, the Texas transportation department decided to convert 83 miles of state road in six oil-boom counties from pavement to gravel, to reduce repair costs and slow traffic.

Trucks filled with Eagle Ford crude are also heading 100 miles west to a barge canal. The first barge of crude departed in September 2011, heading south toward the Gulf of Mexico and refineries near Houston. Now the canal moves 1.6 million barrels a month, says Jennifer Stastny, executive director of the Port of Victoria.

"It's like putting your 5-year-old to bed one night and he wakes up the next morning as a 16-year-old, with the appetite and demands of a 16-year-old," she says.

In North Dakota, trains move 69% of the state's 800,000 barrels a day of crude, according to state figures. Energy companies say they value rail's ability to deliver crude to the highest-paying markets.

But the deadly runaway crude train crash in Canada's Quebec province in July, which incinerated a small town and killed at least 47 people, highlighted the risks of the mile-long crude trains crisscrossing the country. The U.S. government is imposing new regulations on oil shipments by rail.

Some state regulators wonder if their local efforts leave them prepared for a train accident, in part because federal railroad rules pre-empt state and local control over trains.

In Washington state, "we can't say [to train operators] you have to have oil-spill contingency plans in order to operate," says Curt Hart, a spokesman for the state's Department of Ecology. "We do that for oil tankers, barges, large commercial vessels and refineries."

Home to five refineries, the state levies a per-barrel tax on crude delivered by tankers and barges, which pays for spill-response officials and inspectors. The tax doesn't apply to rail shipments.

The American Association of Railroads says it is prepared for growing crude shipments because it has long carried hazardous cargoes. In 2008, major U.S. railroads carried 9,500 carloads of crude, the association says, and are on pace this year to carry 389,000.

Most industry analysts believe that while crude on trains will last, truck and barge traffic will decline once new pipelines come into service.

Environmental groups have criticized some pipeline projects, including the Keystone XL, meant to move Canadian oil to Gulf Coast refineries. The federal government is still studying the Keystone pipeline and has yet to issue needed permits.

Steve Kean, president and chief operating officer of Kinder Morgan Inc., KMI +0.30% one of several interrelated companies that own or operate 82,000 miles of North American pipeline, says government agencies thoroughly vet new projects.

Falling imports, infrastructure investments and increased manufacturing are just some of the benefits of newly abundant energy supplies, he says. "This has got to be one of the best things that has happened in our economy in the past 10 years. It is better than the iPad."

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## U.S. Electrical Grid on the Edge of Failure

Jeff Tollefson – **Nature**

Facebook can lose a few users and remain a perfectly stable network, but where the national grid is concerned simple geography dictates that it is always just a few transmission lines from collapse.

That is according to a mathematical study of spatial networks by physicists in Israel and the United States. Study co-author Shlomo Havlin of Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan, Israel, says that the research builds on earlier work by incorporating a more explicit analysis of how the spatial nature of physical networks affects their fundamental stability. The upshot, published today in Nature Physics, is that spatial networks are necessarily dependent on any number of critical nodes whose failure can lead to abrupt — and unpredictable — collapse1.

The electric grid, which operates as a series of networks that are defined by geography, is a prime example, says Havlin. “Whenever you have such dependencies in the system, failure in one place leads to failure in another place, which cascades into collapse.”

The warning comes ten years after a blackout that crippled parts of the midwest and northeastern United States and parts of Canada. In that case, a series of errors resulted in the loss of three transmission lines in Ohio over the course of about an hour. Once the third line went down, the outage cascaded towards the coast, cutting power to some 50 million people. Havlin says that this outage is an example of the inherent instability his study describes, but others question whether the team’s conclusions can really be extrapolated to the real world.

“I suppose I should be open-minded to new research, but I'm not convinced,” says Jeff Dagle, an electrical engineer at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, Washington, who served on the government task force that investigated the 2003 outage. “The problem is that this doesn’t reflect the physics of how the power grid operates.”

## Critical order

Havlin and his colleagues focused on idealized scenarios. They found that randomly structured networks — such as social networks — degrade slowly as nodes are removed, which in the real world might mean there is time to diagnose and address a problem before a system collapses. By contrast, the connections of orderly lattice structures have more critical nodes, which increase the instability. The problem is that such orderly networks are always operating near an indefinable edge, Havlin says. To reduce that risk, he recommends adding a small number of longer transmission lines that provide short cuts to different parts of the grid.

Benjamin Carreras, a physicist at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee who has conducted similar work2, says that network theory can be useful for providing insight into electric grids but must be complemented with more complex models that attempt to represent both the physical realities and the responsiveness of the modern electric grid. Although in some cases adding long lines can benefit the overall stability of an electric system, Carreras’ work suggests that in certain circumstances such an approach allows problems to propagate even farther.

“More connections may stabilize some processes, by, for instance, increasing the number of paths to generators, but also may destabilize others,” Carreras says. “One cannot make generic statements on this topic.”

Although local outages caused by falling trees knocking down distribution lines are common, large-scale failures within the core ne transmission lines rarely occur on a modern electric grid. Before 2003, the last major blackout in the United States had been on the west coast in 1996, and more recently an outage has struck in the San Diego area.

Dagle says that the 2003 blackout stemmed from a combination of bad vegetation management — the first three lines tripped after sagging into trees but were all within their load rating — and a series of monitoring and communications breakdowns. Vegetation requirements have since been standardized, and a new generation of sensors is providing grid operators with more information about what is happening across the grid at any given moment.

“Many more utilities have much more data,” Dagle says. “The next phase of our voyage is to make better use of that data.”

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**Technology – Full text articles**

## Ballmer Departure From Microsoft Was More Sudden Than Portrayed by the Company

Kara Swisher – **All Things D**

According to sources close to the situation, the departure of CEO Steve Ballmer from Microsoft last week was more sudden than was depicted by the company in its announcement that he would be retiring within the next year in a planned smooth transition.

It was neither planned nor as smooth as portrayed.

While the decision to go seems to have technically been Ballmer's, interviews with dozens of people inside and outside the company, including many close to the situation, indicate that he had not aimed to leave this soon and especially after the recent restructuring of the company that he had intensely planned.

Instead, sources said Ballmer's timeline had been moved up drastically — first by him and then the nine-member board, including his longtime partner and Microsoft co-founder and chairman Bill Gates — after all agreed that it was best if he left sooner than later.

That was due to a number of increasingly problematic issues on the immediate horizon — including a potentially nasty proxy fight, continued business performance declines and, perhaps most of all, that Ballmer's leadership was becoming a very obvious lightning rod.

Interestingly, Ballmer actually indicated that he had planned on staying in his letter about his impending departure, noting: "My original thoughts on timing would have had my retirement happen in the middle of our transformation to a devices and services company focused on empowering customers in the activities they value most."

That sentence spurred much chatter inside the company, including the persistent rumor that Gates had dropped the bomb on Ballmer. That sentiment was further underscored when Ballmer's letter contained no reference or thanks to Gates, with whom he has been tightly tethered over the last several decades. Its absence has been much discussed internally at Microsoft, where it has been seen as an unusual slight and a sign of a rift.

Gates also did not reference his longtime business partner in any celebratory manner in Microsoft's announcement. "As a member of the succession planning committee, I'll work closely with the other members of the board to identify a great new CEO," said Gates, in the entirety of the quote about Ballmer's retirement. "We're fortunate to have Steve in his role until the new CEO assumes these duties."

Other sources cautioned that it was not indicative of tensions between the pair, but was done to minimize "lame duck concerns" that might arise if Ballmer was portrayed as already out the door.

Those sources also insist that Gates never asked Ballmer to step down sooner, although they acknowledge that he also did not — as Gates had in the past — disagree that it was best that he move on.

"Did Gates instigate it? No," said one source with knowledge of the situation. "But was he as supportive of Ballmer as he had been in the past? Maybe not."

That was still a big change, of course. Gates — who has always been and remains the key decision-maker on Microsoft's board — had always been Ballmer's major backer, despite increasing pressure both externally and from other directors for him to step down.

Gates had rejected such suggestions for years. That included former director and Netflix CEO Reed Hastings, who many sources said had been one of the first to urge that the company replace Ballmer as CEO, as well as from a spate of Wall Street investors complaining about the company's declining value in the Ballmer years.

As AllThingsD's John Paczkowski wrote on Friday: "Here's one metric by which Ballmer will be judged harshly. On the last day of 1999, the day before he took over as CEO, Microsoft's market capitalization was $600 billion. On the day before he announced his intention to retire, it was less than $270 billion."

That's a damning number, of course, coupled with a widespread sentiment that Ballmer had missed critical trends in tech under his tenure. Despite a strong growth in revenue, investors and others had long concluded that Microsoft had thrived when Gates was CEO and waned under Ballmer's rule.

Still, until recently, there has been no signal from the company indicating any change in top leadership. In fact, the management reorganization backed strongly by the board a month ago had essentially placed Ballmer at the center of the structure under a plan described as "One Microsoft."

And, at the time of the restructuring announcement in July, Ballmer's definite and clear message was that he was there to stay:

"Lots of change. But in all of this, many key things remains the same. Our incredible people, our spirit, our commitment, our belief in the transformative power of technology — our Microsoft technology — to make the world a better place for billions of people and millions of businesses around the world. It's why I come to work inspired every day. It's why we've evolved before, and why we're evolving now. Because we're not done. Let's go."

Though early in its rollout, the changes have been jarring and created a level of chaos at the company that has led to much grumbling internally. It also did not help that the restructuring was quickly followed by a dismal Q4 performance by Microsoft.

As I wrote in mid-July: "Microsoft had a bad fourth quarter, mostly because many people are not using PCs any more. In addition, the tech giant took a $900 million charge related to having to cut the price of its Surface RT tablet, which had — as you might imagine — an impact on results. Missed profit expectations, missed revenue, missed all over the ying-yang."

With the prospect that the next quarter could be weaker still and with numerous reports of late that there has been slowing of adoption from its new flagship Windows 8 offering, Ballmer and the board finally aligned to move his departure date sooner.

Most critical to that decision, source said, were increased board worries that recent pressure from activist investor ValueAct — which has a large stake in the company — had a good chance of succeeding in its efforts to obtain a seat on the board of Microsoft, especially if Ballmer stayed in place.

And even if the software giant was able to thwart that from happening, said several sources, such a public fight is untenable for the company, since it was likely to attract even more scrutiny to Ballmer's performance and perhaps even more investor action.

ValueAct has until August 30 to notify Microsoft if it plans a proxy battle, and sources said it still wants more that Ballmer's retirement. In talks, said sources, it has asked for an aggressive stock buyback and also a dividend increase, which might assuage its efforts to garner a board seat.

Ballmer denied any pressure from ValueAct specifically in his decision in an interview with the Seattle Times, though sources said that was simply bluster.

And, even with mounting pressure on him, Ballmer definitely portrayed the change as his decision in an interview he gave to ZDNet's Mary Jo Foley last week, after his retirement announcement.

"I would say for me, yeah, I've thought about it for a long time, but the timing became more clear to me over the course of the last few months," he insisted.

When asked if Gates asked him to stay or go, he said no, apparently to both. "Bill respects my decision. I mean, it's one of these things when if it's — you know, ultimately these kinds of things have to be one's own personal decision."

That statement also struck many inside the company as a quick shift. Ballmer, said sources, had been jumping enthusiastically into business review meetings, as part of the new structure, over the last month. In addition, he had expressed to many employees his excitement at being part of the changes he had initiated.

But, in meetings after the announcement, numerous sources inside the company said Ballmer seemed uncharacteristically chastened and quiet, in contrast to his usual confident and forceful manner.

"He was definitely not leaving and then he suddenly was," said one source. "Even if today's Steve made the choice, it was a choice yesterday's Steve did not want to."

Another source, close to the board, perhaps explained it best: "If ValueAct got on the board, I think Ballmer finally realized that meant it was going to be the hard way from then on out until he left and he did not want that for a company he clearly loves and has been his life."

Now, those inside the company are turning to what comes next. While not everyone on the board thought that Ballmer should step down without a new CEO in place, it's moot now as Microsoft turbocharges the process — in place for several years now — to select its next leader.

But, though the committee is headed up by John Thompson, CEO of Virtual Instruments and the former CEO of security software giant Symantec, most expect Gates — as usual — to be the key decision maker on that choice, too.

A Microsoft spokesman declined comment.

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## The Decline of E-Empires

Paul Krugman – **New York Times**

Steve Ballmer's surprise announcement that he will be resigning as Microsoft's C.E.O. has set off a huge flood of commentary. Being neither a tech geek nor a management guru, I can't add much on those fronts. I do, however, think I know a bit about economics, and I also read a lot of history. So the Ballmer announcement has me thinking about network externalities and Ibn Khaldun. And thinking about these things, I'd argue, can help ensure that we draw the right lessons from this particular corporate upheaval.

First, about network externalities: Consider the state of the computer industry circa 2000, when Microsoft's share price hit its peak and the company seemed utterly dominant. Remember the T-shirts depicting Bill Gates as a Borg (part of the hive mind from "Star Trek"), with the legend, "Resistance is futile. Prepare to be assimilated"? Remember when Microsoft was at the center of concerns about antitrust enforcement?

The odd thing was that nobody seemed to like Microsoft's products. By all accounts, Apple computers were better than PCs using Windows as their operating system. Yet the vast majority of desktop and laptop computers ran Windows. Why?

The answer, basically, is that everyone used Windows because everyone used Windows. If you had a Windows PC and wanted help, you could ask the guy in the next cubicle, or the tech people downstairs, and have a very good chance of getting the answer you needed. Software was designed to run on PCs; peripheral devices were designed to work with PCs.

That's network externalities in action, and it made Microsoft a monopolist.

The story of how that state of affairs arose is tangled, but I don't think it's too unfair to say that Apple mistakenly believed that ordinary buyers would value its superior quality as much as its own people did. So it charged premium prices, and by the time it realized how many people were choosing cheaper machines that weren't insanely great but did the job, Microsoft's dominance was locked in.

Now, any such discussion brings out the Apple faithful, who insist that anything Windows can do Apple can do better and that only idiots buy PCs. They may be right. But it doesn't matter, because there are many such idiots, myself included. And Windows still dominates the personal computer market.

The trouble for Microsoft came with the rise of new devices whose importance it famously failed to grasp. "There's no chance," declared Mr. Ballmer in 2007, "that the iPhone is going to get any significant market share."

How could Microsoft have been so blind? Here's where Ibn Khaldun comes in. He was a 14th-century Islamic philosopher who basically invented what we would now call the social sciences. And one insight he had, based on the history of his native North Africa, was that there was a rhythm to the rise and fall of dynasties.

Desert tribesmen, he argued, always have more courage and social cohesion than settled, civilized folk, so every once in a while they will sweep in and conquer lands whose rulers have become corrupt and complacent. They create a new dynasty — and, over time, become corrupt and complacent themselves, ready to be overrun by a new set of barbarians.

I don't think it's much of a stretch to apply this story to Microsoft, a company that did so well with its operating-system monopoly that it lost focus, while Apple — still wandering in the wilderness after all those years — was alert to new opportunities. And so the barbarians swept in from the desert.

Sometimes, by the way, barbarians are invited in by a domestic faction seeking a shake-up. This may be what's happening at Yahoo: Marissa Mayer doesn't look much like a fierce Bedouin chieftain, but she's arguably filling the same functional role.

Anyway, the funny thing is that Apple's position in mobile devices now bears a strong resemblance to Microsoft's former position in operating systems. True, Apple produces high-quality products. But they are, by most accounts, little if any better than those of rivals, while selling at premium prices.

So why do people buy them? Network externalities: lots of other people use iWhatevers, there are more apps for iOS than for other systems, so Apple becomes the safe and easy choice. Meet the new boss, same as the old boss.

Is there a policy moral here? Let me make at least a negative case: Even though Microsoft did not, in fact, end up taking over the world, those antitrust concerns weren't misplaced. Microsoft was a monopolist, it did extract a lot of monopoly rents, and it did inhibit innovation. Creative destruction means that monopolies aren't forever, but it doesn't mean that they're harmless while they last. This was true for Microsoft yesterday; it may be true for Apple, or Google, or someone not yet on our radar, tomorrow.

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**State Budgets and Healthcare costs – Full text articles**

## How to Charge $546 for Six Liters of Saltwater

Nina Bernstein – **New York Times**

It is one of the most common components of emergency medicine: an intravenous bag of sterile saltwater.

Luckily for anyone who has ever needed an IV bag to replenish lost fluids or to receive medication, it is also one of the least expensive. The average manufacturer's price, according to government data, has fluctuated in recent years from 44 cents to $1.

Yet there is nothing either cheap or simple about its ultimate cost, as I learned when I tried to trace the commercial path of IV bags from the factory to the veins of more than 100 patients struck by a May 2012 outbreak of food poisoning in upstate New York.

Some of the patients' bills would later include markups of 100 to 200 times the manufacturer's price, not counting separate charges for "IV administration." And on other bills, a bundled charge for "IV therapy" was almost 1,000 times the official cost of the solution.

It is no secret that medical care in the United States is overpriced. But as the tale of the humble IV bag shows all too clearly, it is secrecy that helps keep prices high: hidden in the underbrush of transactions among multiple buyers and sellers, and in the hieroglyphics of hospital bills.

At every step from manufacturer to patient, there are confidential deals among the major players, including drug companies, purchasing organizations and distributors, and insurers. These deals so obscure prices and profits that even participants cannot say what the simplest component of care actually costs, let alone what it should cost.

And that leaves taxpayers and patients alike with an inflated bottom line and little or no way to challenge it.

### A PRICE IN FLUX

In the food-poisoning case, some of the stricken were affluent, and others barely made ends meet. Some had private insurance; some were covered by government programs like Medicare and Medicaid; and some were uninsured.

In the end, those factors strongly (and sometimes perversely) affected overall charges for treatment, including how much patients were expected to pay out of pocket. But at the beginning, there was the cost of an IV bag of normal saline, one of more than a billion units used in the United States each year.

"People are shocked when they hear that a bag of saline solution costs far less than their cup of coffee in the morning," said Deborah Spak, a spokeswoman for Baxter International, one of three global pharmaceutical companies that make nearly all the IV solutions used in the United States.

It was a rare unguarded comment. Ms. Spak — like a spokesman for Hospira, another giant in the field — later insisted that all information about saline solution prices was private.

In fact, manufacturers are required to report such prices annually to the federal government, which bases Medicare payments on the average national price plus 6 percent. The limit for one liter of normal saline (a little more than a quart) went to $1.07 this year from 46 cents in 2010, an increase manufacturers linked to the cost of raw materials, fuel and transportation. That would seem to make it the rare medical item that is cheaper in the United States than in France, where the price at a typical hospital in Paris last year was 3.62 euros, or $4.73. One-liter IV bags normally contain nine grams of salt, less than two teaspoons. Much of it comes from a major Morton Salt operation in Rittman, Ohio, which uses a subterranean salt deposit formed millions of years ago. The water is local to places like Round Lake, Ill., or Rocky Mount, N.C., where Baxter and Hospira, respectively, run their biggest automated production plants under sterility standards set by the Food and Drug Administration.

But even before the finished product is sold by the case or the truckload, the real cost of a bag of normal saline, like the true cost of medical supplies from gauze to heart implants, disappears into an opaque realm of byzantine contracts, confidential rebates and fees that would be considered illegal kickbacks in many other industries.

IV bags can function like cheap milk and eggs in a high-priced grocery store, or like the one-cent cellphone locked into an expensive service contract. They serve as loss leaders in exclusive contracts with “preferred manufacturers” that bundle together expensive drugs and basics, or throw in “free” medical equipment with costly consequences.

Few hospitals negotiate these deals themselves. Instead, they rely on two formidable sets of middlemen: a few giant group-purchasing organizations that negotiate high-volume contracts, and a few giant distributors that buy and store medical supplies and deliver them to client hospitals.

Proponents of this system say it saves hospitals billions in economies of scale. Critics say the middlemen not only take their cut, but they have a strong interest in keeping most prices high and competition minimal.

The top three group-purchasing organizations now handle contracts for more than half of all institutional medical supplies sold in the United States, including the IVs used in the food-poisoning case, which were bought and taken by truck to regional warehouses by big distributors.

These contracts proved to be another black box. Debbie Mitchell, a spokeswoman for Cardinal Health, one of the three largest distributors, said she could not discuss costs or prices under “disclosure rules relative to our investor relations.”

Distributors match different confidential prices for the same product with each hospital’s contract, she said, and sell information about the buyers back to manufacturers.

A huge Cardinal distribution center is in Montgomery, N.Y. — only 30 miles, as it happens, from the landscaped grounds of the Buddhist monastery in Carmel, N.Y., where many of the food-poisoning victims fell ill on Mother’s Day 2012.

Among them were families on 10 tour buses that had left Chinatown in Manhattan that morning to watch dragon dances at the monastery. After eating lunch from food stalls there, some traveled on to the designer outlet stores at Woodbury Commons, about 30 miles away, before falling sick.

The symptoms were vicious. “Within two hours of eating that rice that I had bought, I was lying on the ground barely conscious,” said Dr. Elizabeth Frost, 73, an anesthesiologist from Purchase in Westchester County who was visiting the monastery gardens with two friends. “I can’t believe no one died.”

About 100 people were taken to hospitals in the region by ambulance; 5 were admitted and the rest released the same day. The New York State Department of Health later found the cause was a common bacterium, Staphylococcus aureus, from improperly cooked or stored food sold in the stalls.

## MYSTERIOUS CHARGES

The sick entered a health care ecosystem under strain, swept by consolidation and past efforts at cost containment.

For more than a decade, hospitals in the Hudson Valley, like those across the country, have scrambled for mergers and alliances to offset economic pressures from all sides. The five hospitals where most of the victims were treated are all part of merged entities jockeying for bargaining power and market share — or worrying that other players will leave them struggling to survive.

The Affordable Care Act encourages these developments as it drives toward a reimbursement system that strives to keep people out of hospitals through more coordinated, cost-efficient care paid on the basis of results, not services. But the billing mysteries in the food poisoning case show how easily cost-cutting can turn into cost-shifting.

A Chinese-American toddler from Brooklyn and her 56-year-old grandmother, treated and released within hours from the emergency room at St. Luke’s Cornwall Hospital, ran up charges of more than $4,000 and were billed for $1,400 — the hospital’s rate for the uninsured, even though the family is covered by a health maintenance organization under Medicaid, the federal-state program for poor people.

The charges included “IV therapy,” billed at $787 for the adult and $393 for the child, which suggests that the difference in the amount of saline infused, typically less than a liter, could alone account for several hundred dollars.

Tricia O’Malley, a spokeswoman for the hospital, would not disclose the price it pays per IV bag or break down the therapy charge, which she called the hospital’s “private pay rate,” or the sticker price charged to people without insurance. She said she could not explain why patients covered by Medicaid were billed at all.

Eventually the head of the family, an electrician’s helper who speaks little English, complained to HealthFirst, the Medicaid H.M.O. It paid $119 to settle the grandmother’s $2,168 bill, without specifying how much of the payment was for the IV. It paid $66.50 to the doctor, who had billed $606.

At White Plains Hospital, a patient with private insurance from Aetna was charged $91 for one unit of Hospira IV that cost the hospital 86 cents, according to a hospital spokeswoman, Eliza O’Neill.

Ms. O’Neill defended the markup as “consistent with industry standards.” She said it reflected “not only the cost of the solution but a variety of related services and processes,” like procurement, biomedical handling and storage, apparently not included in a charge of $127 for administering the IV and $893 for emergency-room services.

The patient, a financial services professional in her 50s, ended up paying $100 for her visit. “Honestly, I don’t understand the system at all,” said the woman, who shared the information on the condition that she not be named.

Dr. Frost, the anesthesiologist, spent three days in the same hospital and owed only $8, thanks to insurance coverage by United HealthCare. Still, she was baffled by the charges: $6,844, including $546 for six liters of saline that cost the hospital $5.16.

“It’s just absolutely absurd.” she said. “That’s saltwater.”

Last fall, I appealed to the New York State Department of Health for help in mapping the charges for rehydrating patients in the food poisoning episode. Deploying software normally used to detect Medicaid fraud, a team compiled a chart of what Medicaid and Medicare were billed in six of the cases.

But the department has yet to release the chart. It is under indefinite review, Bill Schwarz, a department spokesman, said, “to ensure confidential information is not compromised.”

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## States scramble to get health-care law’s insurance marketplaces up and running

Sarah Kliff and Sandhya Somashekhar - **Washington Post**

With a key deadline approaching, state officials across the country are scrambling to get the Affordable Care Act’s complex computer systems up and running, reviewing contingency plans and, in some places, preparing for delays.

Oct. 1 is the scheduled launch date for the health-care law’s insurance marketplaces — online sites where uninsured people will be able to shop for coverage, sometimes using a government subsidy to purchase a plan. An estimated 7 million people are expected to use these portals to purchase health coverage in 2014.

The task is unprecedented in its complexity, requiring state and federal data systems to transmit reams of information between one another. Some officials in charge of setting up the systems say that the tight deadlines have forced them to take shortcuts when it comes to testing and that some of the bells and whistles will not be ready.

“There’s a certain level of panic about how much needs to be accomplished but a general sense that the bare minimum to get the system functional will be done,” said Matt Salo, executive director of the National Association of Medicaid Directors. “It will by no means be as smooth and as seamless as people expected.”

Oregon announced this month that it will delay consumers’ direct access to its marketplace, opening the Web site only to brokers and consumer-assistance agents in order to shield consumers from opening-day glitches.

“Even though we’re testing now, once you actually have the system up, you don’t know what the bugs will be,” said Amy Fauver, spokeswoman for Cover Oregon, the state agency implementing the law there.

In California, which has the nation’s largest uninsured population, health officials have begun hinting that they may have a similar problem.

“It’s a complex system, and there’s a lot of navigation that needs to happen,” said Oscar Hidalgo, a spokesman for Covered California. He said the agency will know by early September whether the system will be ready in time.

If not, he said, customers will still be able to log on to the Web site and peruse insurance plans and view prices. When they get to the final step, however, they will not be able to sign up. They will have to contact a customer service representative to complete the final enrollment step.

Officials with the District of Columbia’s Health Link decided to put off building a Spanish version of its Web site until later this year, giving its staff bandwidth to complete other tasks they see more critical to the launch.

Until then, the District will have bilingual call-center workers and in-person helpers who will be able to help Spanish speakers navigate the site.

The hiccups are troubling to advocates, who worry that there will be mistakes that result in people being erroneously rejected by Medicaid or denied subsidies to which they are entitled. They are concerned that impediments will discourage the uninsured from signing up for coverage.

“There will be something up and running, but there will be serious, serious difficulties with it” that could result in delays and errors initially, said Robert H. Bonthius Jr., a lawyer at the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland. “It’s an extremely ambitious program, well-intentioned, that is going to be very difficult to accomplish, and it’s going to be months and maybe years before it really gets sorted out.”

Much of the difficulty stems from the information the federal government needs to determine who qualifies for which health-law program, including data on citizenship, income, residence and employment. State systems will need to communicate seamlessly with a federal data hub that pulls in information from the Department of Homeland Security and the Internal Revenue Service, among others.

President Obama has predicted “bumps” and “glitches” in the initial launch of the exchanges. Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius has acknowledged a very tight time frame that has required the government to test the hub in imperfect conditions, but she has said it will still launch on time.

“Ideally what you would do if you were building a data hub that needs this kind of information, you’d put a piece together and test that. You test it, if you will, sequentially,” she said in an interview. “We have to build and test simultaneously. . . . It’s a big operational issue, but all systems are a go for the first of October.”

Sixteen states decided to build their own health-insurance marketplaces, with the rest leaving all or much of the task to the federal government. Those states are now in the process of, or have completed, testing to share data back and forth with the data hub.

“There were times when the hub had to be taken offline. . . . So we couldn’t test until they got it back online,” said Jon Hager, executive director of Nevada’s Silver State Health Insurance Exchange. “But I think the end result, and everything I’ve seen, says it will be ready.”

Hager has invested significant time preparing contingency plans for his state, including one for a situation in which the federal data hub does not work, though he said he believes that to be a relatively unlikely scenario.

“If there’s a new rule, that could throw us into a quandary,” Hager said. “You could have, I don’t know, a disaster or a fire. I think we’ve got backup and contingency plans for everything.”

The federal government handles all testing of these connections for states that did not build a portal and chose instead to rely on the federally facilitated marketplace.

State Medicaid programs, which typically serve low-income individuals, are also undergoing testing with the federal data hub. At least one state, Arizona, has not begun that work. It will start testing in September, a late start that worries the executive director of the state's marketplace.

"It's a concern that we're testing this late," said Tom Betlach, who runs the Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System. "Usually when you do testing, you have to go ahead and address any changes. Given the October 1st start date, I don't know much of it will be an iterative process."

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## 80 House members: Shutdown better than Obamacare

Charles Babington – **Associated Press**

More than one-third of House Republicans urged their leader Thursday to trigger a government shutdown rather than pay for the implementation of the health-care law they call Obamacare.

A letter from 80 Republicans asked Speaker John Boehner, R-Ohio, to resist any spending bills that would accommodate the new health-care law, which is nearing a critical stage of signing up millions of Americans for health coverage.

Because it's virtually certain that President Obama and the Democrat-controlled Senate would reject such demands, leaders of both parties say the standoff likely would result in a partial shutdown of the federal government, similar to those that occurred in 1995 and 1996.

The letter is mixed news for Boehner and other GOP leaders who view a government shutdown as politically unwise.

The federal 2013 fiscal year ends Sept. 30. New money must be appropriated by then to avoid a shutdown of countless government offices and agencies.

Voters chiefly blamed congressional Republicans for the mid-1990s shutdowns, and the fallout boosted Democratic President Clinton. Ever since, many establishment Republicans have urged the party to avoid using shutdown threats as a bargaining tool.

But a new generation of tea-party-backed conservatives rejects the advice. They say "Obamacare" — officially the Affordable Care Act — is so unpopular and unworkable that it justifies extraordinary tactics to block it.

A possible solution to the budget impasse, often used in past years, would involve a "continuing resolution" to keep funding the government at current levels. Many top Republicans, including Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, say it's impossible to carve out money for Obamacare in any appropriations measure.

The House letter was authored by Rep. Mark Meadows, R-N.C. It urges Boehner "to affirmatively de-fund the implementation and enforcement of Obamacare in any relevant appropriations bill," including "any continuing appropriations bill."

At least a dozen Senate Republicans have signed a similar letter.

In recent years, Democrats and Republicans in Congress repeatedly have failed to reach major compromises on spending.

The impasses led this year to automatic, across-the-board spending cuts known as sequestration, which have hampered some federal agencies and helped shrink the deficit.

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**Philanthropy – Full text articles**

Philanthropy: the givers club
Cordelia Jenkins – **Livemint and the Wall Street Journal**

On Friday, around 60 prospective philanthropists attended the “First Givers Club” summit in Delhi run by the online philanthropic donation forum GiveIndia. While the club has existed in Mumbai since 2010, said Dhaval Udani, GiveIndia’s CEO, this was their first foray into the capital city. Mint was the media partner of the event.

“With this club, we wanted to create a platform for like-minded individuals to build a community of donors who share knowledge and vision; it will also help to facilitate giving effectively,” Udani told his audience. “Our aim is to help you get more exposure and awareness of the different aspects of philanthropy; over the last three years this club has helped channel more than Rs.18 crore to the lives of more than 10,000 underprivileged in India.”

Rakesh Bharti Mittal, vice-chairman and managing director of Bharti Enterprises, along with speakers Anu Aga of Thermax and Amit Chandra of Bain Capital gave their perspectives on how and where to give effectively and on the future of Indian philanthropy. Edited excerpts:

Rakesh Mittal set up the Satya Bharti school programmes in 2006. The aim was to set up 500 primary and 50 secondary schools of its own with a corpus of Rs.200 crore. After that, state governments began reaching out and Bharti began adopting government schools, creating a public-private partnership in delivering quality education to rural children.

“Given the new companies Bill, which has been passed by Parliament, I assume within the next two three months the rules will be finalized; there is going to be a mad rush for seeking funding. Already, I get a letter every other day for supporting a cause...If I see corporates have been very powerful instruments and drivers of philanthropy, this comes from the wider wealth creation and management role which they do in their businesses. Today they are looking at doing more beyond business, not because the government is forcing them, but because we cannot have islands of wealth. You cannot take this country forward if we are just worried about what I have and what I need for me and my family, and the ecosystem and the society around is crumbling. This country will not move forward.”

“If I go back a few centuries giving had been a very rich tradition; it used to be that 10% of your income would be kept aside for a cause. During those times more money went into either building temples or temples of learning, which are the schools and colleges. Pre-1990, Indian corporates were not giving that much, including the individuals, and there was a reason because we did not have sustainable wealth creation opportunities, either for ourselves, our families, or our large stakeholders as we were running the companies.

“This all changed in the post-1991 year of liberalization. In the last two decades, more and more, new age economies moved this country to prosperous economic growth and suddenly you saw people wanting to give back to society because now you have a model which was creating sustainable wealth for yourself.”

“There are individuals who may give money and their time, but there are also entrepreneurs, young entrepreneurs who produce products which are low in cost but make a huge impact for the people who use it. This is the brief India is looking at in the landscape today and this will be a stepping stone for the future.”

“Giving at Bharti has always been part of our DNA, it was always our endeavour to make a difference. At the beginning, in the mid-70s, we were more interested in creating businesses which could impact society at large. If I look at telecom, retail, agri and food processing we wanted to make a difference and not a buck. In 2000 we set up Bharti Foundation with the sole objective of supporting the youth of India and enabling the underprivileged to come and compete with anyone.

“We started writing cheques and one day I felt that was not the purpose, the fact is there are 320 million children in the age of 6-16, we talk of demographic dividend—absolutely yes, if we nurture this potential, but if we don’t do justice to these children there is a disaster which is waiting to happen.

“The way things are going I am not feeling very positive. I am a born optimist; we are spending billions of dollars but is that being delivered efficiently? The answer is no, all of us know that, and that’s why we keep going back to the government; public-private–partnerships is going to be the key to move forward, you have the resources we have the management expertise let’s join hands. And it has started moving.”

Anu Aga led Thermax Ltd from 1996-2004, after retirement she remains on the company’s board of directors. The chairperson of TFI (Teach For India) was nominated to Rajya Sabha in 2012.

“My giving actually started when I lost my son, who was 25 and died in a car accident. Having studied abroad, poverty really bothered him. We who live in India, we become quite insensitive to seeing poor people, but he kept saying a substantial part of our wealth has to go to charity.”

“It started in a very small way, it’s not as if I gave away crores and crores at once. It started with me getting personally involved and I like that model very much, I’m not very happy with just writing a cheque and not getting involved. I was involved with Akansksha and then I was invited to join their board—it ran centres for slum children and I brought it to Pune.

“We have six schools, now this is done by the CSR wing of Thermax, but Shaheen (Mistry) then started Teach For India, which personally I support.

“From the family wealth, it’s my daughter and I who decide on things. The bulk of our giving is to Teach For India and Akanksha, but we also give to an institute called Parivaar in Calcutta, which is for the poorest of the poor. In Bihar we are giving to a school run by an ex-police officer for the rat-eating tribe. The main underlining thing is credibility. Giving without being involved does give me that little fear, but at the same time I would rather make a few mistakes than mistrust everybody.

“There is a lovely body called Caring Friends in Bombay, where a few hundred people meet informally. It’s not an NGO, the two people who started it incubate NGOs which are new from their own money, and after a few years when they become credible, bring it to the others and ask for money from them.”

Amit Chandra is managing director of Bain Capital and responsible for the firm’s India initiative. He is also chairperson of the Akanksha Foundation that works in the field of education for less privileged children.

“Even though I came from a lower middle class family, we were always taught as children to give and share whatever we had. For me the big inflection points were as I was working at DSP Merrill Lynch and I rose through the ranks, I got success relatively early. I was running the firm before I was 35 but there was still a sense of unease that I had with everything I saw around me. I think the unease was on two counts, one was that by virtue of running what was the largest investment bank at that time I got to work with a lot of families and I realized that wealth did not necessarily translate into happiness when you really got to know a lot of these people individually.

“In fact, wealth built a sense of entitlement amongst the next generation, it built a sense of extreme bitterness amongst siblings, and it often was a source of great degree of unhappiness. And another thing, having had the opportunity to study in the West, I realized that when you look at leaders with legacy, a very vast percentage of leaders who had any degree of legacy where the ones who had given back to society. These issues were beginning to bother me.

“My wife and I were inspired by what Chuck Feeney (Irish-American businessman and philanthropist and the founder of The Atlantic Philanthropies) did. We decided to cap the amount of wealth we wanted to have as a family, and so my wife and I walked into a lawyer’s office, and I transferred how much she thought was needed for her, my daughter, and to support my living, and we said from this day onwards everything else basically goes to charity.

“What that did for us was actually incredible because our constraint after that point in time was to find good causes that could be scaled up. That’s where the GiveIndia team came in extremely handy because we’ve set a budget every year for ourselves which is higher than the previous year with the objective really being to effectively give away all our income every year.

“I think giving your time is critical to being able to scale up giving your money. The two things have to go hand in hand. There is no substitute to actually giving time and approaching it the same way you would approach businesses and investments.

The biggest network we use is the GiveIndia network. Working with their team allows us to screen and monitor, before that we were able to support a handful of NGOs. Now we have a reasonable portfolio across all the areas we are interested in. I don't think that scale up would be able to happen if we hadn't leveraged the GiveIndia team."

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**Global Health and Development – Full text articles**

Pat on the back or force for good: what purpose do development awards serve?
Mark Tran – **Guardian blog**

Divyesh Thakkar has just returned from refugee camps in Ethiopia, where he was surprised to see portable solar lanterns designed by his company still in use three years after their distribution.

The batteries for the prototype lamps were expected to last only two years, but were still functioning at the Jijiga camp near the Somali border.

"It's amazing they're still working and to see them changing lives," said Thakkar, who is based in Leicester. "People are going to university thanks to the lamp."

The solar lantern, which looks like an old-fashioned kerosene hurricane lamp, won an innovation award last year at AidEx, an annual trade show bringing together suppliers and buyers of products for the aid industry. The lamp has a built-in solar panel to charge its four AA-sized batteries.

The lantern has an obvious advantage over kerosone-fuelled equivalents: with no flame or smoke emissions, it is safer and more environmentally friendly. The batteries are made for 500 cycles, or about two years, but the longevity of the lamps in Ethiopia has come as a pleasant surprise. In a novel twist, the lantern, which costs $38 (£24.50), can also be used to charge mobile phones.

The award provided a huge fillip for Thakkar's company, Sunlite. As word spread, relief agencies placed increasingly large orders. About 100,000 of the lamps have been (or are being) used after emergencies in Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and Syria.

Sunlite makes 15,000 lamps a month at two plants in India, including one in a special economic zone in Gujarat state.

Next month, there will be a new winner at AidEx in Brussels, the third year of the award. The innovation award sits alongside a crowded field of honours in the development world, although AidEx is geared more towards humanitarian needs.

Awards seem to be proliferating. Last month, 53 finalists met in Washington to showcase ideas to save the lives of mothers and newborns in developing countries. The award is given by the Saving Lives at Birth partnership, launched in 2011, which includes USAid, Norway, Grand Challenges Canada, backed by the Canadian government, the UK's Department for International Development, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

In October, the Mo Ibrahim foundation will announce its prize for achievement in African leadership, established in 2007. Past winners include presidents Joaquim Chissano and Festus Gontebanye Mogae, of Mozambique and Botswana respectively, although the prize is not awarded if no one meets the criteria.

Sceptics may wonder whether these accolades contribute meaningfully to development, or exist only to make donors feel good while sidestepping more fundamental, structural issues. For instance, the Gates foundation awarded $100,000 to the California Institute of Technology last year for designing a solar-powered toilet that breaks down water and human waste into hydrogen gas for use in fuel cells.

The competition was for "next-generation" toilets to improve sanitation in the developing world. Would that money have been better spent on supporting community-led total sanitation – a project to end open defecation that has had considerable success?

Calestous Juma, international development professor at the Kennedy school of government and a nominator, judge and promoter of new types of prizes, sees awards as part of a complex ecology of financing innovation that includes many other instruments. He believes there should be more prizes for humanitarian work and development.

"Doing humanitarian work may look like a thankless job. Yet it is driven by the instinct of empathy that makes us human," said Juma, author of The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa. "Honouring, rewarding, celebrating and inspiring work in this area is more needed today than ever. This is an area that can use more societal recognition, especially at a time when the whole aid industry is under scrutiny."

However, Juma says prizes need to be carefully thought out. "Many organisations are launching them without thinking carefully about what prizes can do or cannot do."

The AidEx challenge's lead judge, Michael Pritchard, inventor of the Lifesaver water bottle, says the award is not so much about the money – £2,000 – as validation, although the publicity can be a much-needed boost.

"The validation goes an awfully long way to get the product developed and provides a big leg-up into getting it into the market," he said. "It gets written up all over the world and gets the oxygen of publicity."

As for Thakkar, he says winning the AidEx award has been a positive experience: "Winning the award made a huge difference, it increased publicity. People look more favourably on us and [that] gives us an extra edge. We don't have to sell it as much. But we don't want to be just appreciated, we want the lamp to be used extensively."

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**Education – Full text articles**

A Chance at Learning
Ginia Bellafante – **New York Times**

This year, a study administered by researchers at Harvard and Stanford drew significant attention for what it revealed about how inadequately low-income students are represented at selective colleges and universities. Only 34 percent of the highest-achieving high-school seniors whose families fell in the bottom quarter of income distribution — versus 78 percent in the top quarter — attended one of the country's most selective colleges, based on a list of nearly 250 schools compiled by Barron's.

In New York City, where a neighborhood like Bushwick, in Brooklyn, can seem like a satellite campus of Wesleyan and a prewar apartment building on the Upper East Side can feel like an Ivy League dormitory for 46-year-olds, there has been considerable philanthropic attention, of the kind other cities ought to envy, paid to finding the most gifted low-income students and putting them on a similar path.

In 1978, Gary Simons, a Bronx teacher, founded Prep for Prep with the goal of identifying talented students of color in the city and readying them for attendance at private schools like Dalton and Groton and so on. Hundreds of the program's alumni have gone on to law, medical and business schools, and employment at Goldman Sachs, JPMorgan Chase and Time Warner.

A decade ago, hoping also to advance the best students attending public high schools, Mr. Simons and others founded another organization, Leadership Enterprise for a Diverse America, or LEDA, which draws exceptional children from around the country, regardless of race, almost entirely from families who make less than $55,000 a year. Applicants are required to be in the top 10 percent of their class, having taken the most difficult courses their schools offer. The 60 who gain entry to the program each year spend the summer before 12th grade at Princeton, studying ethics, political theory and public policy, and preparing for standardized college entrance exams.

In a wondrous righting of the current disequilibrium, however small its scale, they are tutored for those tests by the same instructors who work with some of Manhattan's wealthiest teenagers: the staff of Advantage Testing, whose services cost parents up to $795 an hour. Arun Alagappan, the founder and president of Advantage and a major benefactor of LEDA, provides his employees (whose résumés typically resemble those of the people at Google or McKinsey) pro bono.

LEDA has been very successful. Of the 500 or so students who have graduated from the program, three quarters have gone on to top-tier colleges, 30 percent of them to the Ivy League. Among LEDA's 2012 graduates alone, 19 gained admission to Princeton, 11 to Georgetown and 6 to the University of Pennsylvania.

Last week I took a walk around Red Hook, Brooklyn, with Joshua El-Bey, a LEDA graduate who was leaving in a few days for his sophomore year at Yale. His family struggled as he grew up, moving often and ultimately landing in the Red Hook Houses, the borough's largest public housing development. His first memories of book learning, he told me, were the readings his mother delivered from Genesis when he was 2. What was disconcerting about Mr. El-Bey's otherwise incredibly inspiring trajectory was how much of his success had depended on opportunities outside the public education system.

Bullied in middle school for his studiousness, Mr. El-Bey hoped to gain admission to one of the city's elite specialized public high schools, but he did not do well enough on the entrance exam. The free tutoring provided by the city for the test was insufficient, he said.

He ended up at Edward R. Murrow in Midwood, Brooklyn, a good school whose academics were nevertheless surpassed by the supplemental training he received as a scholar at Sponsors for Educational Opportunity, an organization begun 50 years ago by Manhattan lawyers and advertising executives as a mentoring program to get poor minority students into good colleges. Today it essentially provides a shadow education. In school, Mr. El-Bey told me, he simply learned to "regurgitate facts."

Programs like LEDA and S.E.O. are popular with wealthy, supremely educated donors, precisely because of outcomes like Mr. El-Bey's. Just this May, the financier Henry R. Kravis pledged $4 million in matching gifts to S.E.O.

And in a city as dense with talent and money as New York, the effects of such philanthropy can be effortlessly observed. Walking through his neighborhood, Mr. El-Bey ran into another alumnus of S.E.O., Luis Hernandez, who was about to begin his freshman year at the University of Southern California. In a precocious accomplishment more typical in other neighborhoods, Mr. Hernandez had won a screenwriting contest for a film about obesity that had already made its debut on the Showtime cable channel.

As a society we have begun to pay increasing and essential attention to gaining access to the top, but the brightest among us might do well to apply equal focus to how we might enhance the middle.

Most students, rich or poor, will not go to Harvard, while plenty of working-class and poor students will go to colleges that serve them not nearly well enough. Not long ago, our son's caregiver, who is taking classes at LaGuardia Community College in Queens, showed me a paper she had written for a class in English composition taught by a teacher who was consistently late and twice absent. It was on Ibsen's "A Doll's House" and my husband had helped her. It incisively analyzed the play's theme of 19th-century marital oppression and was impeccably written.

When our nanny received her grade, she was shocked not to have done as well as she had expected. Her formatting had been imprecise, the teacher told her. And there was a problem with spacing. Content seemed not to matter much at all.

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## Obama goes for college 'datapalooza'

Nick Anderson – **Washington Post**

In President Obama's plan to overhaul higher education, which envisions using new federal ratings of colleges to determine levels of student aid, there is a deep faith in the power of information and innovation to catalyze change in colleges and universities.

Ultimately, the belief is that these forces will make college more affordable.

Yet academia has witnessed and taken part in many waves of innovation in the past half-century, and affordability remains elusive.

The administration's faith is encapsulated in a word the White House used this week in a fact sheet about the plan:

"Datapalooza." Here's the reference:

"New college ratings will help students compare the value offered by different colleges," the fact sheet said. "The Department of Education will enlist entrepreneurs and technology leaders with a 'Datapalooza' to catalyze new private-sector tools, services, and apps to help students evaluate and select colleges. The effort will be complemented by earnings information by college that will be released for the first time on [the] administration's College Scorecard this fall."

What is a datapalooza? Apparently, it is a festival of, or related to, data. The White House and the Education Department hosted such an event Oct. 9. Students and parents are arguably awash in data now, much of it conflicting and confusing. Some would say more is better.

Few would argue that better data would be best of all for the consumer.

The yen for better data is shared not just by Obama but also by some colleges. Start with graduation rates.

Now, the federal government measures how many students graduate within four years or six years of starting college. But it only measures that for students who are first-timers, who are enrolled full-time and who don't transfer from one institution to another, omitting a huge share of the college population. Millions of students are part-timers. Community colleges with excellent records of getting students into prestigious four-year schools are not rewarded for their efforts if those students fail to pick up an associate's degree before they transfer. Nor are four-year colleges that give transfer students or former dropouts a second chance and help them get a bachelor's degree.

The Association of Public and Land-grant Universities, which represents schools such as the University of Maryland, is spearheading an effort to improve this flawed metric, using not only federal data but also information from the nonprofit National Student Clearinghouse to track degree completion for students who move from one school to another.

One question Education Secretary Arne Duncan will face, as he confers with colleges to create a ratings system within the next two years, is what kind of graduation rate the government will use. Another is what kind of data the government will report on income of college graduates.

All we know about the federal rating metrics at this point are rough sketches from the fact sheet, highlighting these potential factors: "access, such as percentage of students receiving Pell grants; affordability, such as average tuition, scholarships, and loan debt; and outcomes, such as graduation and transfer rates, graduate earnings, and advanced degrees of college graduates."

The plan envisions that ratings will be tied to student aid formulas by 2018, if Congress agrees. That is a big if. It's also a year after Obama's term ends.

There is nothing in the plan that would force states to give more funding to public higher education, one of the key cost drivers in tuition. The president recognized the issue, touting a proposal that he has made before — a "Race to the Top" incentive fund of $1 billion for higher education. This fund would aim to spur state reforms and reward states that maintain strong higher education funding, much as an identically named fund for K-12 education did in 2009 and 2010. But it is unlikely to win congressional approval.

Obama's plan highlights innovation. The president gave a major shout-out to a movement to award degrees based not on how much time students spend in class but on how well they master their material, citing an experiment under way at Southern New Hampshire University and one that is about to launch at the University of Wisconsin.

"So the idea would be if you're learning the material faster, you can finish faster, which means you pay less and you save money," Obama said Thursday in a speech at the University at Buffalo. This notion is indeed revolutionary in academia because most degrees are awarded based on the concept of a credit hour — which is a rough measure of the time a student spends doing work in and for a course.

Obama also underscored the online learning movement, which has gained steam in recent years, saying that it holds out the promise of reducing costs. Carnegie Mellon, Arizona State and Georgia Tech universities won coveted presidential mentions in the speech. So did the University of Maryland, in the fact sheet. Fans of massive open online courses, or

MOOCs, took heart from this.

What exactly can the administration do to hasten technological innovation besides hosting datapaloozas? The fact sheet points to two proposals: one that requires money, and one that doesn't. A "First in the World" fund of $260 million, presumably requiring congressional approval, would "test and evaluate innovative approaches to higher education that yield dramatically better outcomes." Education officials liken this to a $650 million "Investing in Innovation" fund created under the 2009 stimulus law that has been used as seed money for experiments in K-12 education.

And the Education Department could cut regulatory barriers to innovation, whatever those might be. Education officials said Friday that they plan to solicit ideas from colleges on what government rules are hindering innovation. Many educators might say that red tape gets in the way of experiments in distance learning and degree programs not organized around the traditional credit hour.

The fact sheet asserts: "The Department will use its authority to issue regulatory waivers for 'experimental sites' that promote high-quality, low-cost innovations in higher education, such as making it possible for students to get financial aid based on how much they learn, rather than the amount of time they spend in class."

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Massively Online And Offline Too: How MOOCs Will Evolve In The Physical World
Giovanni Rodriguez – **Forbes**

I was at the airport about this time last Sunday, when I overheard a conversation that's becoming quite commonplace. One person was explaining to another what a MOOC was, but he couldn't remember what the letters stood for. As someone who regards himself as an amateur, ad-hoc, in-the-moment teacher, I felt compelled to help him out: "Massive. Open. Online. Course." He thanked me. He had been struggling to remember the "open" part of the MOOC message. And, even more interesting, he had been struggling to remember the word "course."

Over the past few months, more and more clients and partners have been coming to me to deconstruct not just the acronym but also the attributes of MOOCs. So often in fact that I have decided to write a short series on the subject. There are many things to say about both the true impact and hype about MOOCs in the larger narrative that's emerging about disruption in education. But from where I sit, what's most important to note about MOOCs in 2013 is something that the acronym does not yet capture: the massive disruption we're seeing in education will be online and offline, too.

Experience

There are at least three reasons for this. And each of these reasons deserves at least one post, but I'll be super brief here. The first is that the online experience of MOOCs will almost certainly evolve in a way that teachers, students, and staff will look to find ways to meet with one another. This will either happen by design (by intent and with care) or it will happen organically. Almost certainly, the producers of MOOCs will look to do this with some sense of design, while leveraging the organic power of networks to grow by themselves. And if you have been following the evolution of MOOCs, you already know that the online experience is still a work in progress. My business colleague, Chris Bennett — a behavior designer and gamification expert — and I recently spoke about this: many are stuck in the old paradigm of delivering education to the consumer, rather than leveraging the greatest assets of the new medium (co-creation, crowdsourcing, collaboration). By redesigning the online experience to become more interactive, innovators in the MOOC world will see the possibilities for offline experience.

Inventory

Another reason for thinking about physical space: while the world ponders the impact that the costs of higher education will have on schools that are struggling to compete, the inventory of quality physical space that becomes available will appeal to organizations that need it. A couple of years ago, I had the privilege of serving as an advisor to a White House initiative that traveled the country meeting with leaders in large spaces in a network of state and community colleges. As a former theater producer, I was impressed with the availability and quality of these spaces. In theater — and other kinds of shared, quasi-spiritual, transformative experience — physical space is everything. Innovators in the MOOC world will get wise — if they haven't already — to the existence of networks of spaces (there are many different networks, as I will show in a later article) and make them come alive for their clientele.

Opportunity

And I use the word clientele to make a final point: innovation in the MOOC world will not just come from educators, but from any organization that sees the value of massive online and offline courseware. As my own clientele have come to realize, education in the 21st century is not just something you do before you become an adult but a modality of experience that empowers you throughout your entire life. No reason for schools to own the entire market for those kinds of experiences. But I expect the most enterprising schools — especially those with great or underused physical inventory — to partner with organizations that now have the opportunity to rethink themselves for the education market. In the meantime, it may be time to reassess the MOOC acronym to make the opportunities more obvious. “Massive Online Offline Communities” seems more like it. And unlike the online communities of the past, these communities are learning communities, driven by the new lifelong modality of transformative experience. Expect a land grab for branding and positioning. The disruption in education is just beginning, and the players are just becoming visible.

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**Women and Children – Full text articles**

Indian Police Arrest Suspects in Two Gang Rapes
Sean Mclain and Khushita Vasan – **Wall Street Journal**

Indian police Sunday were holding 10 men suspected of involvement in two highly publicized gang-rape cases—one in urban Mumbai, the other in rural Jharkhand state—highlighting India's struggles with sexual violence.

In Jharkhand in eastern India, police said they had detained five suspects in connection with the rape of a policewoman by a group of men who had set up a roadblock on a highway. The attack occurred Thursday, but wasn't reported to police until Friday, they said.

Five other men were in custody Sunday in the Mumbai case, in which a 22-year-old magazine intern taking photographs of dilapidated buildings was assaulted Thursday in an abandoned textile mill in the city, police said.

The attacks come as the trial of five people accused in the December gang rape and murder of a 23-year-old student on a Delhi bus entered its final phase. That crime sparked nationwide demonstrations and prompted the government to introduce harsher penalties for crimes against women.

Protesters took to the streets of Mumbai on Friday to decry the assault on the magazine intern in a city that has a reputation as a relatively safe place for women. In 2012, the incidence of rape in the Western Indian metropolis was about half the national rate, according to the National Crime Records Bureau.

"I've always felt much safer in Mumbai compared to other Indian cities," said Sanika Prabhu, a television producer from Mumbai. "After this incident, I feel like I don't recognize this city anymore."

Mumbai police said the magazine intern was with a 21-year-old male companion when she was attacked Thursday. The assailants tied his hands with his belt and raped the woman from 5:30 p.m. to 7 p.m., an official at N.M. Joshi police station said. Medical tests confirmed the rape, he said.

Under Indian law, rape victims cannot be named in media accounts.

There were 24,915 reported rapes in India in 2012, according to the National Crime Records Bureau, including 233 in Mumbai. The victims in almost half the Mumbai cases were between 14 and 18 years old.

Activists say the number of rapes is much higher, as many go unreported. India also has a poor record on convictions, with only around a quarter of alleged rapists convicted in 2010.

In Jharkhand, police said the rape of the police constable occurred at around 1:30 a.m. on Thursday, as she and her relatives were transporting the corpse of her brother-in-law for cremation.

"They were accosted by five or six young men who had set up a roadblock," said S.N. Pradhan, a police official in Jharkhand. According to the criminal complaint, the men stole 40,000 rupees ($625) and then ordered the woman out of the vehicle. "Then they took her to the bush and raped her one by one while others stood watch," he said.

The rape wasn't reported until Friday, when police—investigating reports of highway robbery—discovered a photo of a policewoman near where the thefts occurred. "The superintendent of police asked her why her photo was there and only then did she report the rape," Mr. Pradhan said.

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Is there any space in the development debate for African experts?
Andrew Quinn – **Guardian blog**

At a 2012 TEDxChange conference in Berlin, African women's development fund CEO Theo Sowa turned the spotlight on an uncomfortable truth: African women may be the focus of many development campaigns, but they are rarely represented as drivers of the discussion.

"When people portray us as victims, they don't want to ask us about solutions. Because people don't ask victims for solutions," Sowa told the audience.

Of course, experts from Africa and other parts of the developing world are pioneering solutions to a vast range of development challenges on everything from improving maternal health to boosting sustainable crop output. Bringing their perspectives to light should be an integral part of development work, particularly as the international community contemplates the next steps in the global development agenda beyond the 2015 MDGs.

Celebrity advocates, government officials and major funders all have ready-made platforms for spreading their views – the power of their brand is often enough to build an audience.

But for those without immediate recognition, the task is harder. The Aspen Institute's New Voices Fellowship, launched this year with support from the Bill & Melinda Gates foundation, is one attempt to start figuring out an answer by providing both media coaching and contacts for development experts from Africa and, eventually, other parts of the developing world.

Development experts, so focused on their endless and crucial work, often neglect this area. Yet finding ways to leverage yours or your colleagues' public visibility is not as difficult as it sounds. Media training can be expensive, but enormously beneficial. Persistence pays off. And above all, helping people to think like "thought leaders" can bring real results.

Our fellows represents a cross-section of the work under way in Africa today, from a Congolese doctor seeking to build a health system in one of the remotest parts of his country to a Ghanaian tech entrepreneur devising new strategies for expanding math and science education in rural communities. Each one is an expert, and each one has a story to tell. Helping them to craft their stories, and find an audience, have been our challenges.

The audience, at least initially, has been the easy part. The explosion of online and issue-driven media over the past decade has created a wide range of outlets, many of which are eager to bring new voices to light. Development-focused media such as the Guardian's Global Development section, general interest aggregators such as the Huffington Post, and geographic specialists such as AllAfrica.com and Think Africa Press all represent potential platforms for fresh writing about development issues. Even mainstream outlets such as CNN and Al Jazeera are welcoming new contributors for their opinion sections, while professional community portals such as Business Fights Poverty and the Guardian Global Development Professionals Network can open the door to engaged specialists who care deeply about the challenges ahead.

Add to this the increasingly crowded schedule of conferences and meetings ranging from the Clinton Global Initiative and Skoll World Forum to TEDx events held around the world and it's clear that there are a wealth of opportunities to reach important audiences with new stories.

Crafting those stories has proved a little trickier. While the development-focused media has expanded, the standard for what makes a compelling blog, speech or opinion piece have not: clear writing and cogent argument backed up by solid evidence and examples. Putting the pieces together, and injecting the right personal note to make for a truly memorable piece, takes work, self-confidence and practice.

For our first New Voices Fellowship meeting in Johannesburg in June, we set up a series of training sessions on how to handle media interviews, how to behave on camera, and how to build an online presence. But the most important part of the curriculum turned out to be a crash course in confidence: how to believe in the importance of what you have to say. For many of our fellows, unused to thinking of themselves as "thought leaders", the leadership component was new territory. We learned that helping the fellows define their specific areas of expertise, and to understand how that personal expertise can translate into important contributions to the global development discussion, was an essential starting point. One fellow, an expert on maternal health from Tanzania, found new confidence in the fact that alongside her medical degrees she has personal experience as an African mother. Another, who specialises in poverty alleviation in Nairobi's slums, began to harness his own stories about growing up in those slums to buttress his points about development in informal settlements.

These are exactly the types of new perspectives that will inform and enrich development policy discussions. At Aspen, we will be recruiting our next class of New Voices fellows starting mid-September, and look forward to learning from and working with other organisations which are committed to expanding the dialogue about what works – and what doesn't – in global development.

*Andrew Quinn is director of the New Voices Fellowship at the Aspen Institute.*

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## Child marriage campaigners in south Asia receive $23m cash injection

Mark Tran – **Guardian blog**

By the age of 17, Zeenat had been divorced three times after forced marriages. She first wed shortly after puberty to a man who abused her, an experience that recurred in her subsequent marriages.

She became so isolated that she did not go to the hospital or ask for help. Neither had she heard of India's Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act of 2005, which made her husband's violent outbursts not just wrong, but illegal.

Sadly, her story is all too common. Every year about 10 million girls become child brides, and one in seven girls in the developing world marries before the age of 15.

Bangladesh, Nepal and India have three of the highest rates of child marriage, with 68.7%, 56.1% and 50% respectively of girls married before the age of 18. Child marriage is not just a question of poverty – although that is a critical issue – but also of how girls are viewed in society.

"Even with higher levels of income, there is the practice of child marriage," said Care International's gender director, Theresa Hwang. "It is an issue of status; girls are valued in a lesser way. In India, girls are not seen as 'added value'. The issue is squarely tied to gender equality and social norms."

Care USA, the US arm of the anti-poverty NGO, and the American Jewish World Service (AJWS) this week received grants of $7.7m (£4.9m) and $15.3m respectively from the Kendeda fund to tackle child marriage in south Asia. Both organisations will use the money to support local NGOs.

Founded 10 years ago, the Kendeda fund worked initially on environmental sustainability in the US, but last year created a girls' rights portfolio. AJWS will focus on India, Care on Nepal and Bangladesh.

All three countries have laws against child marriage, but implementation has proved difficult. Civil child marriage laws are not enforced, and religious or social customs prevail.

In Nepal, Care supports groups such as Chunauti, which seeks to spread its message against child marriage among schools and local businesses. The local NGO persuaded factories to put anti-child marriage slogans in their production materials. It also convinced a food catering business not to cater for child marriage ceremonies.

For Care and AJWS, the logical route is to work through local partners familiar with regional conditions and practices, and based where the pressure points are. For the local NGOs, it shows they are not working alone on a difficult problem only now receiving the attention it merits.

The UN high-level panel appointed by Ban Ki-moon, the UN secretary general, to look at development targets to replace the millennium development goals when they expire in 2015, has urged the recognition of child marriage as a key indicator of female empowerment. In another sign that child marriage is moving up the development agenda, Girls Not Brides, the global partnership to end child marriage, was formed in September 2011 to tackle the problem.

Empowerment can come through that catch-all term, livelihoods training. Groups such as Brac, the Bangladeshi NGO, for example, have created clubs in Uganda where young girls learn to develop confidence through storytelling and songwriting. They also learn more practical skills, from financial literacy and tailoring to agricultural work.

Backed by AJWS, Mohammad Bazar Backward Classes Development Society in West Bengal takes a similar approach. The organisation, which works with marginalised Muslim and tribal women and children in urban Kolkata, runs a school for girls as well as vocational training for women in the rural area of Birbhum.

"We work to build girls' aspirations, promote girls' ideas of themselves when they don't have aspirations, and engage with key decisionmakers – parents, teachers and religious leaders," said Javid Syed, Asia programme officer for AJWS.

AJWS helped change Zeenat's life. It provided her with vocational training, allowing her to become financially independent and diminishing the likelihood that economic need will turn her towards another abusive marriage. If Zeenat does marry again, the hope is that she will have the support of her family and the ability to leave the marriage if she chooses, in full knowledge of her rights.

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# Money, money, money!

**Maureen Dowd**

**WASHINGTON** Clinton nostalgia is being replaced by Clinton neuralgia.

Why is it that America's roil family always seems better in abstract than in concrete? The closer it gets to running the world once more, the more you are reminded of all the things that bugged you the last time around.

The Clintons' neediness, their sense of what they are owed in material terms for their public service, their assumption that they're entitled to everyone's money.

Are we about to put the "For Rent" sign back on the Lincoln Bedroom?

If Americans are worried about money in politics, there is no larger concern than the Clintons, who are coseted in a world where rich people endlessly scratch the backs of rich people.

They have a Wile E. Coyote problem; something is always blowing up. Just when the Clintons are supposed to be floating above it all, on a dignified cloud of do-gooding leading into 2016, pop-pop-pop, little explosions go off everywhere, reminding us of the troubling connections and values they drag around.

There's the continuing grotesque spectacle of Anthony Weiner and Huma Abedin. And there's the sketchy involvement of the Clintons' most prolific fund-raiser, Terry McAuliffe, and Hillary's brother Tony Rodham in a venture, GreenTech Automotive; it's under federal investigation and causing fireworks in Virginia, where McAuliffe is running for governor.

Many Israelis were disgusted to learn that Bill Clinton was originally scheduled to scarf up $500,000 to speak at the Israeli president Shimon Peres's 90th birthday festivities in June. I guess being good friends with Peres and brokering the accord that won Peres the Nobel Peace Prize were not reasons enough for Bill to celebrate. The Israeli branch of the Jewish National Fund had agreed to donate half a mil to the Clinton foundation. Isn't the J.N.F. "supposed to plant trees with donor cash?" Haaretz chided before the fund pulled back. "I guess money does grow on trees."

I never thought I'd have to read the words Ira Magaziner again. But the man who helped Hillary torpedo her own health care plan is back.

In an article in this newspaper last week headlined "Unease at Clinton Foundation," Nicholas Confessore and Amy Chozick offered a compelling chronicle about an internal review of the rechristened Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation that illuminated the fungible finances and tensions between Clinton loyalists and the foundation architects Magaziner and Doug Band, former bag carrier for President Clinton.

You never hear about problems with Jimmy Carter's foundation; he just quietly goes around the world eradicating Guinea worm disease. But Magaziner continues to be a Gyro Gearloose, the inept inventor of Donald Duck's Duckburg.

"On one occasion, Mr. Magaziner dispatched a team of employees to fly around the world for months gathering ideas for a climate change proposal that never got off the ground," Confessore and Chozick said.

We are supposed to believe that every dollar given to a Clinton is a dollar that improves the world. But is it? Clintonworld is a galaxy where personal enrichment and political advancement blend seamlessly, and where a cast of jarringly familiar characters pad their pockets every which way to Sunday.

"Efforts to insulate the foundation from potential conflicts have highlighted just how difficult it can be to disentangle the Clintons' charity work from Mr. Clinton's moneymaking ventures and Mrs. Clinton's political future," Confessore and Chozick wrote.

The most egregious nest of conflicts was a firm founded by Doug Band called Teneo, a scammy blend of corporate consulting, public relations and merchant banking. Band, a surrogate son to Bill, put Huma, a surrogate daughter to Hillary, on the payroll. Even Big Daddy Bill was a paid adviser.

As this newspaper reported, Teneo worked on retainer, charging monthly fees up to $250,000 and recruiting clients from among Clinton Foundation donors, while encouraging others to become foundation donors. The Clintons distanced themselves from Teneo when they got scorched with bad publicity after the collapse of its client MF Global, the international brokerage firm led by the former New Jersey governor Jon Corzine.

**Clintonworld is a galaxy where personal enrichment and political advancement blend seamlessly.**

And Chelsea is now shaping the foundation's future, and her political future. So there may not be as much oxygen for her troublesome surrogate siblings.

As George Packer wrote in The New Yorker, Bill Clinton earned $17 million last year giving speeches, including one to a Lagos company for $700,000. Hillary gets $200,000 a speech.

Until Harry Truman wrote his memoirs, the ex-president struggled on an Army pension of $112.56 a month. "I could never lend myself to any transaction, however respectable," he said, "that would commercialize on the prestige and dignity of the office of the presidency."

So quaint, Packer wrote, observing, "The top of American life has become a very cozy and lucrative place, where the social capital of who you are and who you know brings unimaginable returns."

The Clintons want to do big worthy things, but they also want to squeeze money from rich people wherever they live on planet Earth, insatiably gobbling up cash for politics and charity and themselves from the same incestuous swirl.

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# Tax Topics

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## And the beat goes on…

Last fall's 16-day government shutdown ended with legislation that President Obama signed in the wee hours of October 17th. Under that legislation, a bipartisan committee hammered out a budget agreement by mid-December; Congress approved the agreement, and President Obama signed it into law. House and Senate appropriations committees then began drafting spending bills – on which they compromised: H.R. 3547, the "Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2014," passed both the House and the Senate with comfortable bipartisan majorities; it became Public Law 113-76 on January 17th, when President Obama signed it. The Act allocates $1.012 trillion, is over 1500 pages long and funds the government through September 30, 2014 (the end of the current 2014 fiscal year).

The Act restored some of the funding cuts otherwise dictated by the "sequester," which was born of budget legislation (and the debt ceiling crisis) in August 2011. It covers discretionary spending for all government agencies, and has nothing to do with mandatory spending, such as Social Security. In other words, for example, the Act covers national defense, commerce, the judiciary and what are referred to as "financial services," which includes the IRS. Although overall appropriations are up slightly for financial services from last year's enacted level, the $11.289 billion appropriated for the IRS is about 4% less than last year, and continues a downward trend in IRS funding.

Under the Act, the IRS will have new quarterly reporting requirements with respect to some of its spending, and must abide by some pointed directives, including maintaining training programs to cover items such as "taxpayers' rights, dealing courteously with taxpayers, cross-cultural relations, ethics and the impartial application of tax law." An additional $92 million is potentially available to the IRS to supplement certain areas of its budget, but not until the IRS Commissioner first provides a spending plan for those dollars, none of which can be used to support any provision of the Affordable Care Act (ACA, which is also known as "Obamacare"). The IRS also cannot make a video unless it is pre-approved by the Service-Wide Video Editorial Board, nor can the Service use any of its funds to target citizens who are exercising their First Amendment rights or to target groups for "regulatory scrutiny based on their ideological beliefs."

In other words, the budget takes note of recent issues that have reflected poorly on the IRS, including the Service's enhanced scrutiny of politically conservative groups that were seeking tax-exempt status as 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations, and the disclosure of certain training videos that spoofed several old television shows and were deemed wasteful. John Koskinen, the new IRS Commissioner, has many challenges ahead of him, including restoring public confidence in the agency and boosting employee morale.

## National Taxpayer Advocate

Nina Olson has been the National Taxpayer Advocate since 2001. She heads up the Taxpayer Advocate Service (TAS), which was created in 2000, and is an independent organization within the IRS. Ms. Olson and the TAS are the taxpayer's "voice at the IRS." The TAS is designed to help taxpayers navigate issues with the IRS when the usual channels have failed; in addition, Ms. Olson regularly focuses on larger issues within the IRS and the tax system itself, and recommends solutions. Her year-end Annual Reports to Congress are thorough and thoughtful, and in part, detail what she views as the most serious issues facing taxpayers.

Ms. Olson's 2013 Annual Report was released on January 9, 2014, and, as always, is interesting reading. One of the critical issues Ms. Olson focuses on in this report is that the IRS "desperately" needs more funding to serve taxpayers and increase voluntary compliance. Ms. Olson presents some compelling statistics to support this statement. In fiscal year 2013, for example:

- The IRS received about 109 million phone calls; only 61% of the callers seeking a customer service representative got through, and those who did had to wait an average of 18 minutes before speaking with someone.
- The IRS received about 8.4 million letters from taxpayers responding to proposed adjustments to their tax accounts; it was unable to respond to 53% of this correspondence within its target timeframes.
- The IRS continues to reduce (and sometimes eliminate) services at its nearly 400 walk-in sites; the Service will only answer "basic" tax law questions during this current filing season (January through April), and will not answer any of those questions beyond April.

Ms. Olson also notes that since fiscal year 2010, the IRS workforce has declined about 8%, and that its training budget has been "slashed" from about $172 million to about $22 million, a "staggering" 87% reduction. "Thus," she says, "the IRS not only has fewer employees than four years ago, but those who remain are less equipped to perform their jobs."

Ms. Olson calls the recent IRS budget cuts "shortsighted and counterproductive" for several reasons: 1) our system relies on voluntary compliance, and the harder it is for taxpayers to get answers, the less likely they are to comply; 2) the IRS is a money-maker: in fiscal year 2013, it collected roughly 90% of federal revenue – or about $2.86 trillion on an appropriated budget of about $11.2 billion (an average return on investment of 255:1); of those revenues collected, some 98% were paid timely and voluntarily, with only 2% coming from enforcement actions. "In fiscal terms, to be blunt, the mission of the IRS trumps the missions of all other federal agencies."

At his confirmation hearing last December, IRS Commissioner John Koskinen voiced similar sentiments:

> I don't know any organization in my 20 years of experience in the private sector that has said "I think I'll take my revenue operation and starve it for funds to see how it does." The IRS will have 11,000 fewer people working during this upcoming filing season while processing the largest number of returns in its history. I don't care how efficient you become, that is not a recipe for success or improved compliance and taxpayer service.

**In a nutshell…**Tax collectors are never popular. Yet if the IRS lacks sufficient funds to do its job properly, that means fewer dollars all around for all federal programs, including national defense, Social Security and Medicare – *and* for reducing the deficit. Perhaps, as Ms. Olson suggests, Congress should change the way it approaches the IRS's budget and fund the IRS at whatever level Congress believes will "maximize tax compliance, particularly voluntary compliance, with due regard for protecting taxpayer rights and minimizing taxpayer burden."

## Changes afoot in New York?

On January 21, 2014, New York's Gov. Andrew Cuomo (D) introduced his comprehensive Executive Budget for New York's 2014-2015 fiscal year. The budget has a number of tax reform proposals, including "modernizing" New York's estate tax law and closing what it refers to as the resident trust "loophole." Here are a few highlights of this draft legislation:

- **Estate Tax.** For decedents dying on or after April 1, 2014, New York would begin lowering its top estate tax rate of 16% (this currently applies to taxable estates just over $10 million), and increasing its $1 million estate tax exclusion amount; by April 1, 2017, the top estate tax rate would have dropped to 10%, and the exclusion amount would have reached $5.25 million. As of January 1, 2019, that exclusion amount would be indexed for inflation using the "cost of living adjustment," defined as the percentage by which the consumer price index (CPI) for 2018 exceeds the CPI for 2012; as of January 1, 2020, the cost of living adjustment would be the percentage by which the CPI for 2019 exceeds the 2018 CPI; in 2021, the adjustment would be the percentage by which the 2020 CPI exceeds the 2018 CPI, and so forth, in subsequent years. In addition, as of April 1, 2014, resident New York decedents would have to include "adjusted taxable gifts" (see below) made on or after that date in their New York *gross* estates if they were New York residents when they made the gifts; non-resident New York decedents would not include such gifts in their New York *taxable* estates unless the gifts were of real or tangible property located in New York, or of intangible property used in a New York trade or business.

  **Comments.** The memorandum in support of this legislation states that New York's estate tax is "woefully out of date," and that it gives wealthy New Yorkers an incentive to leave the state. In part, the legislation would address this problem by lowering New York's estate tax rate, and eventually raising its estate tax exclusion to the federal basic exclusion amount, which it cites as $5.25 million, indexed for inflation. Indeed, thanks to inflation-indexing, the basic exclusion amount was $5.25 million in 2013, and in 2014, it is $5.34 million – meaning that in 2014, a married couple can protect up to $10.68 million from federal gift or estate tax, assuming they haven't made any prior gifts that used up some of this exclusion (these are the "adjusted taxable gifts" referred to above). Thus, New York's draft legislation targets a number ($5.25 million) that is already stale. Nevertheless, the legislation would start indexing the New York exclusion for inflation as of 2019; presumably, its CPI references would successfully match New York's exclusion to whatever the federal exclusion then is.

  In addition, including certain lifetime gifts made on or after April 1, 2014 in the New York estate tax computation could definitely increase a decedent's New York estate tax, which generally doesn't reflect those gifts. It goes without saying that a New Yorker currently contemplating a significant lifetime gift might want to complete that gift prior to April 1, 2014, given this draft legislation. But New Yorkers who haven't yet made such gifts might be reluctant to do so – they may not want to, and may not even be a New York resident at death.

- **The resident trust "loophole."** The memorandum in support of this legislation explains that it would make two "improvements" to the taxation of trusts. First, it would tax distributions of trust income accumulated in prior years ("accumulation distributions") to New York beneficiaries of non-resident trusts (generally, trusts created by someone who was not a New Yorker) and of tax-exempt resident trusts (generally, trusts created by a New Yorker that are exempt from New York income tax because they have no New York trustees, no property located in New York, and no New York-source income). Second, the bill would eliminate a "loophole" that allows so-called incomplete gift, non-grantor trusts ("INGs" or "DINGs," if the trusts are created in Delaware) to completely avoid New York income tax; it would do so by making the trust a "grantor trust" for New York income tax purposes – meaning that the creator of the trust would be taxable on the trust's income for New York purposes, even though the creator is not taxable on that income for federal purposes. Although these proposals would be retroactive to January 1, 2014 if enacted, some transition rules would apply: accumulation distributions paid before June 1, 2014 would be exempt, and the ING rules would not apply to income from a trust that is liquidated before June 1, 2014.

**Comments.** This proposed legislation reflects recommendations from the Trusts and Estates section of the New York Bar Association that were included in the November 2013 report from the Tax Reform and Fairness Commission. According to the bill's supporting memorandum, the provisions would increase tax revenues by $75 million in fiscal year 2014-15, $225 million in fiscal year 2015-16, and $150 million annually thereafter. In other words, these proposals are perceived as money-makers. Yet whether that would indeed be the case remains to be seen: wealthy New Yorkers seem unlikely to view these changes as "improvements" to the taxation of trusts, but rather, as another reason to move out of New York.

## January and February 7520 rates issued

The IRS has issued the January and February 2014 applicable federal rates: the January 7520 rate is 2.2%, an increase of 0.20% (20 basis points) from December's 2.0% rate. January's mid-term rates are also up slightly, and are: 1.75% (annual), 1.74% (semiannual and quarterly), and 1.73% (monthly). February's 7520 rate continues to climb: it is 2.4%, and the February mid-term rates are also up: 1.97% (annual), 1.96% (semiannual and quarterly) and 1.95% (monthly). December's mid-term rates were: 1.65% (annual), 1.64% (semiannual and quarterly), and 1.63% (monthly).

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# Frontlines

WINTER 2008

SCIENCE BUSINESS NATURE TECHNOLOGY CULTURE POLITICS

**EARTH'S SECRETS**
How might soil bacteria be affected by global warming?

# BIOLOGISTS DIG DEEPER

Canada's new Biotron superlab contains miniature chunks of the natural world that will help us predict the impact of climate change on living organisms

BY LINDSAY BORTHWICK

A GROUP OF PLANT SCIENTISTS GATHERED IN VIENNA IN 2005 AT THE International Botanical Congress. The meeting was pretty much what you would expect until its conclusion, when the congress declared: "As a matter of urgency, facilities for controlled, ecosystem-scale experiments are required now." Without a better toolbox to study how the natural world responds to global climate change, "sustained human habitability of Earth" would be at risk.

Fortunately, just such a toolbox was already being designed by Norman Hüner, a Canadian biochemist and plant biologist. Hüner had begun work on his Biotron Institute for Experimental Climate Change Research in 1999. In early 2008 it will open its doors, the first facility in the

*Annual per capita water consumption in the United States: 660,430 gallons. In China: 184,920 gallons*

## Peace in The Garden

LAST FALL IN THE GERMAN city of Kassel, a group of about 15 women harvested a bumper crop of pumpkins, squash, and wine grapes from a small community garden. Nothing unusual there, perhaps—except that the women were from Morocco, Afghanistan, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia.

The "intercultural garden" in Kassel is one of about 100 in Germany, but the only one run entirely by women. (And after the gardeners had long discussions about the hazards of pesticides, its produce will be totally organic.) The gardens began in 1995, after a group of Bosnian women in Göttingen, waiting out the Balkan conflict, told social workers how much they missed the famous plum and apple orchards of Bosnia's Drina Valley.

There has been adversity along the way. A garden in Berlin had to be placed under police protection after it was targeted by neo-Nazi protesters. In Cologne the gates of another garden have been destroyed three times. And it isn't always easy to coax traditional crops such as Afghan mint, coriander, and Iranian leeks from the mineral-rich German soil. Yet the gardens thrive. Says Behoumi, a 31-year-old from Morocco, "Without the beauty of the garden I could not survive."

—ANGELA BOSKOVICH

DORLING KINDERSLEY; SOURCE FOR WATER FACT: WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT JOURNAL

world that will allow researchers to re-create and study how a complete ecosystem, such as Arctic tundra or boreal forest, responds to climate change. The Biotron, Hüner says, is "as close as you can get to nature [in a lab]."

The Biotron will help integrate biology into the scientific study of global warming. Existing climate change models, says Hüner, are more about physics than biology; moreover, they describe changes that are happening to the planet rather than to particular habitats, species, or individuals. Scientists haven't been able to create predictive models, for example, of how changes in rainfall and temperature will affect soybean yields in the U.S. grain belt or butterflies in the Amazon basin, because, with a few exceptions, they haven't had the tools to measure the impact of climate change on living organisms.

*Researchers will vie for access to the Biotron much as physicists compete to use the world's few particle accelerators or astronomers the latest and biggest optical telescopes*

Now there's a place where whole ecosystems can be scrupulously re-created and organisms scrutinized, from their DNA to their interaction with other organisms. With more complete data, scientists will be able to make better predictions—and their experimental findings could better inform policy makers, who might, for example, provide subsidies for crops that respond well to emerging climate patterns.

The Biotron may call to mind Biosphere 2, the large artificial habitat plopped down 20 years ago in the Arizona desert, where researchers tested in two separate "missions" whether humans could live sustainably in a sealed, self-contained environment as a precursor to colonizing outer space. The Biotron, scientifically speaking, is in a different league.

The superlaboratory is a joint project of the University of Western Ontario, the University of Guelph, Ontario, and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, a federal agency. The nondescript five-story building, located in the agricultural heartland of southwestern Ontario, is an engineering marvel, yet a bargain at just U.S. $28 million.

Inside are state-of-the-art facilities that support research into microorganisms, insects, and plants, all of which can be genetically modified to suit researchers' needs. Temperature in the Biotron's climate chambers can be varied from –40 degrees Fahrenheit to 122 degrees, to simulate anything from the Arctic winter to a tropical rainforest. On the roof of the building are six "biomes"—airlocked, greenhouse-like structures that have been custom designed to precisely control environmental factors such as temperature, UV radiation, light intensity, wind, precipitation, and $CO_2$. Each biome is large enough to house trees more than 30 feet tall and to allow for the re-creation of complex biological communities that can extend from the highest tree canopies to underground soil layers.

If the possibilities seem endless, they nearly are. The plan is for the world's leading scientists to rotate in and out of the lab space, and the biomes will be regularly reconfigured. One such setup will use cross sections of Arctic permafrost, transported from northern Canada, so researchers can study how it reacts to rising temperatures: As the permafrost thaws, how much methane gas will be released? How will bacteria and overwintering insects be affected by changing freeze-thaw cycles? Scientists will design and study more temperate ecosystems, as well, to learn how changes in temperature and $CO_2$ affect the growth of photosynthetic organisms, including crops and boreal forest.

Biotron researchers will also be able to study the benefits and risks of biotechnology in agriculture, forestry, and medicine by examining the basic biology of genetically modified organisms: What is the rate of gene transfer from transgenic plants to wild ones? Can plants be engineered to manufacture medicinal compounds that will benefit humans?

The Biotron will be equipped with a sophisticated imaging and analysis system—a virtual control room—that will expand its reach globally, allowing researchers anywhere to manage and monitor experiments remotely over the Internet in real time. A scientist in India studying the impact of climate change on rice could instruct the Biotron to raise the temperature or $CO_2$ concentration in a biome set up to simulate a South Asian rice paddy. Then he or she could monitor the impact of this change through images and other data automatically collected and stored in a supercomputing network.

Researchers will vie for access to the Biotron in much the same way that physicists compete to use the world's few particle accelerators or astronomers the latest and biggest optical telescopes. Like them, it is a place for frontier science, where old models will fall and new and unexpected ones will arise—except that the goal is not to understand our cosmic origins but to influence our destiny.

*Through personal care products, the average American child is exposed to 27 chemicals daily that have not been proven safe*

## Far From Nirvana

**NEW YORK CITY'S AMITABHA** Buddhists are full of good intentions. Last summer members of the group bought hundreds of eels, frogs, and turtles from the city's Chinatown markets and released them into New Jersey's Passaic River to save them from the dinner table. The problem: the state's Department of Environmental Protection has strict rules for the release of animals into its watersheds, and the group now faces fines for illegally introducing invasive species. To make matters worse, the animals may not survive. —ADAM SPANGLER

## They Didn't Mean That

**IN OUR FALL 2007 ISSUE,** Howard Frumkin of the Centers for Disease Control warned that global warming was "perhaps the largest looming public health challenge that we face." On October 23, Frumkin's boss, CDC director Julie Gerberding, testified about climate change to the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. By the time Bush administration officials were done reviewing her 12-page draft, it had been slashed to six. Among the statements cut: "The CDC considers climate change a serious public concern."

ABOVE ILLUSTRATION BY STEVE WACKSMAN RIGHT PHOTOGRAPH FOR ONEARTH BY CODY PICKENS; SOURCE FOR CHEMICALS FACT: ENVIRONMENTAL WORKING GROUP

| | |
|---|---|
| **Date:** | Friday, June 22 2012 11:08 PM |
| **Subject:** | From Christina: Fwd: Project in Haiti: CEFOTAJ, SA |
| **From:** | Jeffrey Epstein <jeffreyepsteinorg@gmail.com> |
| **To:** | [redacted] |
| **CC:** | Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>; Cecile de Jongh <[redacted]>; |
| **Attachments:** | DSC_0418.JPG; DSC_0419.JPG; DSC_0424.JPG; Cefotaj Business Plan Final 5-18-11(1).docx |

Dear Unik,

It was a pleasure to speak with you today. I have removed the press release from our website and it will be removed from PR newswire. My sincere apologies for any inconvenience.

As mentioned, I am forwarding you this project in Haiti which looks very inspiring. I am cc'ing Jeffrey and Cecile on this too.

My best regards and I will keep you posted on the press release removal from PR Newswire.

Sincerely,

Christina
Media/PR

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Marlene Edme** <[redacted]>
Date: Fri, Jun 22, 2012 at 12:59 PM
Subject: Project in Haiti: CEFOTAJ, SA
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeffreyepsteinorg@gmail.com>
Cc: [redacted]

Dear Mr. Epstein:

Please allow me to introduce myself. My name is Marlene Edme; I am the founder and President. .For above-mentioned organization and Yair Fatal is the Project Director. The organization was founded in 2007 with the mission of providing free technical skills in the garment industry to the people in the Southeastern department of Haiti. Following the earthquake, the living and economic conditions are deplorable. More than ever, CEFOTAJ wants to double its effort to help the community of Jacmel out of desperation by providing the youth with valuable sustainable skills. With a trade under their belt, the youth will be more confident while seeking employment.

We have obtained our 501 - C (3) in 2008 and have recently received the approval of the Haiti's Department of Planning to be a non-governmental organization (NGO). The organization's building that will house the school is currently under construction.

Based on our research, we found that you are very committed to helping Haiti. The purpose of this correspondence is to solicit The Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation assistance with grant coordination and facilitation to help our organization get off the ground. With potential help from the international community, we believe that the project would be rewarding for the citizens of the city of Jacmel and in line with the requirements of the Haiti Reconstruction Plan and President Obama recent legislation of the "Hope" law.. Please find enclosed a copy of the project which provides detailed information about the curriculum for the different programs that the school will offer. We trust that you will find this to be an interesting project with great potential.

If you require additional information, please feel free to contact us at [redacted] or [redacted]
. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Marlene Edme
President

CEFOTAJ

Centre De Formation Technique Pour
L'Avancement Des Jeunes Du Sud'Est Inc.

# CEFOTAJ Business Proposal

Jacmel, Haiti

PO Box 666 Brentwood, NY 11717 • Phone (631) 273-4100 • Fax (631) 273-4111 • yair@cefotaj.org • www.cefotaj.org

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## Executive Summary

For Haiti to become an economically independent nation from donors and foreign aid there needs to be support for private industry to establish itself and flourish. At one point in its history, Haiti was a market leader in the textile industry supplying quality products. Currently there is an opportunity to provide sustainable employment for Haitians with the right training to develop an industry to serve as a catalyst to catapult the country out of the stigmatism of a third world country. There is a need for work to be done, such as construction of homes, infrastructure, etc.

Haiti is one of the lowest-income countries in the Western hemisphere. The country has problems with AIDS, crime, drug trafficking, etc. (CIA, 2010). On January 12th, 2010, an earthquake destroyed the capital of the country and worsened the overall situation of Haiti. The total loss was estimated around $11.5 billion; however, the country still needs more time to rebuild (U.S. Department of State, 2010). The majority of the donor countries worry about Haiti becoming a burden throughout the years without any positive results (Novacek et. al, 2008). The country has both positive and negative sides.

This business plan includes secondary data. Secondary data was selected from academic, government, news resources or based on extensive research by those with experience in dealing with Haiti. Considering retrieved data, the plan focused on the following aspects:

- Past and current situations in Haiti;
- A critical needs assessment of Southeastern area of Haiti;
- Our plan for investment in Haiti

After the detailed investigation of the authoritative sources and critically evaluating information, CEFOTAJ has concluded the following:

- Haiti has a potential for investment in the area of apparel/clothing.
- Establishment of our trade/learning school will facilitate and foster future investments within the country via job and economic growth in the southeastern area.
- Despite its economic situation, the country attracts foreign investments and investors.
- Foreign investments and aid allow restoring the country quicker.
- Foreign investments positively affect the country.

## Introduction

### Background

Investment into another country or internalization is a very important and scrupulous decision that a business has to make. As a rule, developing countries seek to attract investors in order to gain FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) and acquire technology. Mainly, the investors seek for variety of factors when going international.

These factors include the following:

- an area's business climate; education and training strengths;
- labor unionization; attitudes of local and state governments;
- available incentives;
- community attitude;
- commuting distance;
- transportation costs and proximity to roads;
- availability of transportation facilities;
- labor productivity and attitude toward productivity;
- cost of labor;
- availability of skilled and unskilled labor;
- availability and transfer of qualified technicians and managers;
- land availability and cost; cost of construction; proximity and access to markets;
- availability and cost of utilities;
- cost of living;
- tax structures and rates;
- insurance considerations;
- financing opportunities;
- banking services;
- social and cultural climate;
- quality of life;
- local and physical infrastructure;
- proximity to suppliers/resources;
- access to raw materials; CEO ownership preferences;

Haiti (Republic of Haiti) is not a very easy place to invest. The country has a very unstable social and economic situation. It experienced a massive 7.0 earthquake and several subsequently large tremors, which led to the deaths of many citizens in January 2010. Currently, the country is experiencing problems with cholera, AIDS, high crime rates, high unemployment, and high illiteracy among other things. According to CIA Factbook Report (2010), 80% of the population lives "under the poverty line and 54% in abject poverty".

## Country Profile Background

### General Geographical and Macroeconomic Situation

Haiti (Republic of Haiti) is located on the western part of the island of Hispaniola (Greater Antillean archipelago in the Caribbean Sea). Haiti shares the island with the Dominican Republic. The geographical characteristics are follows:

- Area: total: 27,750 sq km; land - 27,560 sq km; water - 190 sq km;
- Area—comparative: slightly smaller than Maryland
- Climate: tropical; semiarid where mountains in east cut off trade winds
- Terrain: mostly rough and mountainous
- Natural resources: bauxite, copper, calcium carbonate, gold, marble, hydropower
- Items imported: Haitian rum, beer, cigars, furniture, etc.
- Literacy rate - 53 percent
- Land use: arable land- 20% permanent crops - 3%; permanent pastures - 18%; forests and woodland- 5%; other- 44%.
- Natural hazards: lies in the middle of the hurricane belt and subject to severe storms from June to October; occasional flooding and earthquakes; periodic droughts;
- Environment—current issues: extensive deforestation (much of the remaining forested land is being cleared for agriculture and used as fuel); soil erosion; inadequate supplies of potable water
- Environment—international agreements: party to: Biodiversity, Climate Change, Desertification, Law of the Sea, Marine Dumping, Marine Life
- More than two-thirds of the population live on less than $1 per day
- Approximately 58 percent of the population is less than 25 years old.
- Haiti ranks 154 of 177 countries in the UN's Human Development Index (CIA, 2010; USAID, 2009; The World Bank, 2010).

Light manufactures ($165.1 million); fuel and lubricants ($651.8 million), essential oils ($17.8), mango ($10.0 million), cacao ($7.4 million) were the main exports. U.S. (69%), Dominican Republic (10.2%), Canada (3%), and Mexico (2.8%) were the main countries of exports. U.S. (43.8%), China (5.4%), Brazil (4.1%), Colombia (2.9%) were the main countries of import to Haiti in 2008. The country had mainly imported fuel and lubricants ($651.8 million), food ($616.9 million), manufactured goods ($242.7 million), and machinery/ transport equipment ($187.7 million) (CFI, 2009).

## U.S. and Haiti Relationship

Long-term relationships between the U.S. and Haiti have been developed. First of all, the country has a very good geographical location. Port-au-Prince is less than 2 hours by air from Miami (approximately 600 miles southeast of the coast of Florida). Moreover, there are flights to New York and Fort Lauderdale. Secondly, English is well known in the country. Majority of the Haitian businesspersons speak English and it is possible to pay for the products in US dollars. Currently, there are some U.S. companies, including commercial banks, telecommunications, airlines, oil and agribusiness companies, and U.S.-owned assembly plants are present in Haiti (US Department of State, 2010; CIA, 2010).

The economic situation was largely dependent on the U.S. and entire world's financial aid. For example, the U.S. contributed more than $850 million of financial aid from 1995 to 2003 to improve governance, security, the rule of law, economic recovery and critical human needs. From 2004 to 2008, the U.S. provided $600 million of financial aid. Moreover, The World Economic Forum ranked Haiti last in its 2003 Global Competitiveness Report (Global Security, n.d.; CFI, 2010). That is why World Bank Donors (U.S., Canada, EU, France, Sweden, Spain, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, Greece, Norway, Mexico, and Ireland) provided $1.085 billion from 2004 through 2006 to address humanitarian needs (U.S. Department of State, 2008).

## Haiti before the Earthquake in 2010

Haiti had been the least-developed country in the Western Hemisphere since the 1980s. The economic stagnation of the country was a result of inadequate economic policies, political instability, shortage of arable land, environmental deterioration, lack of investment in human resources, migration of majority of skilled citizens, weak national savings rata, lack of functioning judicial system, corruption, reliance on traditional technologies instead of applying the new ones, drug trafficking, etc. (U.S. Department of State, 2008). A variety of the sources (U.S. Department of State, 2000; PRS Group, 2002; World Bank, 2004; Icon Group, 2007; Infomat, 2008; CFI, 2010) identified that Haiti had low trade with the foreign countries between 1990 and 2004 due to the political instability. Therefore, there were a limited number of foreign investors in Haiti. Later on, the political situation stabilized.

Generally, Haiti had a positive attitude towards foreign investors. There were no economic or industrial strategies with discriminatory effect, e.g. nationality. The Haitian banking system is open to the entry and operation of foreign banks. At present, there are two foreign banks operating in Haiti: Citibank and Scotia bank (PRS Group, 2002; Investment Overview, 2007).

The Government of Haiti has made several commitments to the world trade organization in the financial services sector as follows:

- Allow foreign participation in deposit taking, lending, guarantees and commitments; in financial leasing; in underwriting services, including participation in the issuance and placement of securities; and in advising and auxiliary services for each of the above-mentioned services.

- The tax code includes a withholding tax provision that discriminates against foreign investors (PRS Group 2002, PRS Group 2003, PRS Group, 2005, PRS Group, 2009; USAID, 2006).

As a rule, investment in "sensitive" sectors, such as electricity, water and telecommunications require special government concession. Investment in the public health sector requires authorization from the Ministry of Public Health and Population. Investment in agriculture is subject to the Ministry of Agriculture's approval. Exploiting mineral and energy resources require permits from the Office of Mining and Energy. Besides, natural resources are considered as the property of the country (PRS Group, 2009; Schaaf, 2009).

## Haiti after the Earthquake in 2010

The January 12th, 2010 earthquake had inflicted massive human and financial damage to the country. The natural disaster damaged homes, commercial & government buildings, cities infrastructure, and took many people lives. The estimated monetary loss is $11.5 billion (U.S. Department of State, 2010).

According to the World Bank report (2010), 70% of the total damage and losses were done in the private sector. Therefore, this has lead to the loss of production, reduction in revenues, loss of jobs and wages, increase in production cost, etc. Additionally, the job market experienced 8.5 % of pre-earthquake jobs decrease due to devastation.

Ninety percent of businesses are informal in Haiti; ninety-five percent of businesses are SME (Small and Medium sized Enterprise). Business people indicated having various problems due to the natural disaster. Some of them lost their houses and facilities; therefore, they do not have money for rebuilding all the facilities. However, a vast majority of businesses do not pay taxes and do not contribute to the countries' official GDP (Investment Facilitation centre, 2010).

## Government Role in Economy

Generally, government's role in the economy is minimal. There are several government subsidies and price controls; however, goods are mainly traded at market prices. Considering the fact that there are over 70 % of imports in Haiti, the Haitian government has eliminated tariffs and non-tariff barriers in order to liberalize trade (CIA, 2010; World Bank, 2010; PRS Group, 2009).

At the same time, there is a project for creating several trade free zones and exclusion from the taxes of the foreign investors (PRS Group, 2009.

## Project Overview

### Description

Haitian manufacturing has been well known in the world. As recently as the mid 1980's, Haiti was known as the staple for baseball production. After labor unrests occurred, corporations moved their operations out of Haiti to China and other countries. Haiti went from employing 150,000 workers in the textile industry to a current level of 20,000. Haiti occupies the lowest ranks in the world's ranking among the countries. As a rule, the country is perceived as politically unstable, being subject to various natural disasters, and having increasing security problems. For example, the political difficulties related to the Presidential election had led to the suspension of funding for major infrastructure rehabilitation by most international and bilateral donors.

The Centre de Formation Technique pour L'Avancement des Jeunes du Sud-est (CEFOTAJ) was created by members who trace their roots to the beautiful city known as Haiti's cultural center to increase general awareness of the dangers facing idle young women and men. The city, a population of 60,000, is considered a major production center of arts and creativity and is determined by CEFOTAJ members as the ideal location to establish a trade school.

In support of the Government of Haiti's National Action Plan to produce centers of economic development outside the capital of Port-au-Prince, CEFOTAJ plans to ensure Haiti's future development by bringing much needed training skills for the textile industry to support the creation of jobs to Haiti's underserved regions.

Based on our target group of attracting over 100 youths with 75 enrolling and being trained for the project, we have formulated a free association questionnaire that we would pose to individuals within the community in order to assess whether the community believes this avenue of job skill creation would be fruitful. The following questionnaire would be utilized to engage the community in open ended discussions about their future and viability of a successful training center:

.

### Survey Questionnaire

1. **A job training center in our community would** ___________________
2. **Without a job I believe** ___________________
3. **The textile industry in Haiti has** ___________________
4. **I would like** ___________________ **to occur in my community.**
5. **The young people in the Jacmel community** ___________________

The establishment of a training center would seek to achieve the following goals;

- Mobilize the local population
- Workers technically trained for couture
- Promotion of couture in Haiti
- Establishment of a major element in the structure for bringing the assembly industry into the area
- Strengthening of institutional structures

## SWOT Analysis

When considering market entrance strategy for the business, there were several opportunities and threats that were considered before starting the business or investing in this Haitian industry. The SWOT analysis was based on information provided in the secondary sources (PRS Group, 2009, Schaaf, 2009, The World bank, 2006; The World Bank, 2010; Investment Overview, 2007; CFI, 2010; Economy watch, n.d.; Ozdenli & Bennet, 2007; Icon Group, 2007; Novacek et. al, 2008)

| STRENGTHS | WEAKNESSES |
|---|---|
| • Low cost of production<br>• Possibility to outsource the services<br>• High demand for work<br>• Tax exclusion<br>• Positive legal and regulatory environment<br>• Geographical proximity compared to China<br>• Previous experience with foreign partners<br>• Skilled professionals speak three languages (French, English, and Spanish).<br>• The country's population is quite young (43% under 15 years, 4% above 65 years) | • Lack of professionals<br>• Bad overall situation in the country<br>• Dependence on the world's aid<br>• Corrupted environment & shadow economy<br>• Low literacy rate<br>• Underdeveloped transport, city, rural, telecommunication, etc. infrastructure<br>• Haiti experiences many natural disasters (flooding, earthquake, draught, etc.)<br>• Great dependence on foreign aid and imports<br>• Enormous rich-poor gap (1% of society owns 44% of the wealth) |
| **OPPORTUNITIES** | **THREATS** |
| • Incorporate the best creative minds from Haitian Community<br>• Presence of financial partners to support the new investment project<br>• Haitian Diaspora in the U.S. is concerned about Haiti and willing to help | • Unstable political situation & Reliance on foreign aid<br>• Insecure country with unequal access to the police protection and security services to all people in Haiti<br>• Change in the regulations to less favorable ones<br>• Corruption, Money laundering activities |

## Results

Research and Market (2010) research identified the global plan of South Korean company, Sae-A Trading Company Limited, that has built an industrial park and garment making operation in Haiti with the financial support of the World Bank's IFC financing arm and the U.S. State Department. This has provided an initial 20,000 people jobs. Furthermore, A USAID funded Apparel Training Center opened its doors in August 2010 to assist in the training of individuals to rebuild the industrial garment industry in Haiti. Both projects have received the full backing of the Haitian government as well as the U.S. government.

There were various investigations and researches aimed to identify the best areas to invest and market opportunities in Haiti. In order to combine and identify the main trends, the most reliable and authoritative sources were selected and investigated. The list given below provides the summary of the findings:

- Apparel sector, agribusiness, electronics (US Trade and Developing Agency cited by Fagenson, n.d.);
- Apparel, agribusiness, and tourism (Haitian Investment Facilitation Center, 2010);
- Apparel (Research and Marketing, 2010);
- Development and trade of raw and processed agricultural products; medical supplies and equipment; rebuilding and modernizing Haiti's depleted infrastructure; developing tourism and allied sectors--including arts and crafts; and improving capacity in waste disposal, transportation, energy, telecommunications, and export assembly operations (U.S.. Department of State, 2008).
- Apparel, telecommunications, reforestation, agribusiness, call centers (Clinton, 2010).

According to Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act (CBTPA) act, a U.S. company has duty-free export of many Haitian products assembled from U.S. components or materials. Therefore, U.S. companies can outsource labor force from Haiti and experience exclusion from taxes in Haiti. Moreover, they would have less transportation expenses if compared to China, Vietnam, or Taiwan. The HOPE and HOPE II (Haitian Hemispheric Opportunity through Partnership Encouragement) Act is another positive legal document for the businesses from the U.S. According to this act, there are additional duty-free preferences for qualifying apparel/textiles products and automotive wire harnesses.

Additionally, The Haitian Economic Lift Program (HELP) Act that was passed in May 2010 expands the duty-free treatment of imported apparel made in Haiti or the Dominican Republic. These new regulations are developed to attract large corporations and apparel manufacturers, especially from South Korea and Brazil (U.S. Department of State, 2010; PRS Group, 2005; Research and Markets, 2010).

After detailed evaluation of the overall situation in the country and methods of community development, CEFOTAJ came to the following expected results indicated in the following sections:

## Training Plan

This project's goal is to improve the living conditions of urban young people. It aims specifically at the establishment of new social structures for youth. This project consists particularly in training them in handling of scissors, cutting of canvas, training in patterns, use of the computer in couture, and the use of specialized sewing machines. The project will be implemented in Jacmel.

A solid structure will be established to work on complete implementation of the project, which will be carried out by CEFOTAJ. The project will be managed by the administrative committee of CEFOTAJ. The goal of the Center is to instruct individuals in almost all facets of the textile industry in relation to working in a factory. Students will be trained efficiently and effectively to the following techniques:

- Handling of scissors
- Cutting of canvas
- Preparation of patterns
- Use of the computer in sewing
- Use of specialized sewing machines
- Finished product for the international market
- Evaluation and adjustment of the finished product
- Quality of garments according to the seasons

The center has formulated a plan to devise students into three distinct groups to be trained in. Students accepted to the center will be developed via one of the following:

- Young people who have no knowledge of garment-making. Their training will last for one year.
- Young people who already have some knowledge of garment-making. Their training will last for nine months.
- Young people who are interested in haute couture. This is a three-year training program.

The trainees will not be charged entrance fees or monthly payments. However, they will have to obtain the tools necessary for their training.

The trainees will be chosen on the following bases:

- Level of education: primary school equivalency for the first two groups
- Completion of secondary-school equivalency for the third group
- Admission examination designed to evaluate the applicants' understanding of geometric and mathematical concepts
- Age level: 18 to 35

A certificate will be issued to students who pass the final examination after completing their training. The list of new garment-industry workers will be given to entrepreneurs looking to hire workers. The project has a term cycle of three years at which point a full assessment will be reviewed in preparation for future subsequent cycles.

## Execution Schedule

| **Activities** | **M1** | **M2** | **M3** | **M4** | **M5** | **M6** | **M7** | **M8** | **M9** | **M10** | **M11** | **M12** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mobilization | XX | XX | | | | | | | | | | |
| Recruitment | | | XX | XX | | | | | | | | |
| Training | | | | | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX |
| Monitoring and evaluation | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX | XXX |
| Annual report | | | | | | | | | | XXX | XXX | XXX |

## Forecasted Budget

The total operating cost of the project is estimated at US$359,731.

The financing will be obtained as by contributions by members of the organization, grants by philanthropists interested in such projects, companies that specialize in assembly, under conditions that comply with the regulations and bylaws of the NGO, and by international financial backers interested in the development of Haiti.

The listed prices on schedules C, D, and E represent an on average estimate based upon utilizing marketplace prices for items quoted within the United States as well as the professional experience of the President of the organization. Schedules A and B were determined based on a blend of Haitian labor rates as well as some influence from US labor rates. The budgeted amounts for labor are considered heavily competitive within the Haitian workforce.

The costs, which are listed in **USD**, are broken down as follows:

| **A. Administration** | **Amount** | **Unit Price (per month)** | **Total (per year)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Secretary | 1 | $400 | $4,800 |
| Instructor | 5 | $500 | $30,000 |
| Security guard (morning/evening) | 2 | $150 | $3,600 |
| Technician for maintenance | 1 | $400 | $4,800 |
| Cleaning person | 3 | $125 | $4,500 |
| Program Director | 1 | $4,000 | $48,000 |
| Executive Director | 1 | $3,000 | $36,000 |
| **Total** | **14** | | **$131,700** |

| **B. Current Expenses** | **Amount** | **Unit Price (per month)** | **Total (per year)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wired telephone | 2 | $75 | $1,800 |
| Electricity | | $300 | $3,600 |
| Drinking water | | $60 | $720 |
| Internet | | $125 | $1,500 |
| Television | | $150 | $1,800 |
| **Total** | | | **$9,420** |

| **C. Furniture** | **Amount** | **Unit Price** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pattern tables | 4 | $300 | $1,200 |
| Computer tables | 4 | $200 | $800 |
| Metal folding chairs | 320 | $25 | $8,000 |
| Office chair | 6 | $75 | $450 |
| Ordinary desk | 6 | $300 | $1,800 |
| Large filing cabinets | 6 | $400 | $2,400 |
| Small filing cabinet | 4 | $100 | $400 |
| Blackboard | 4 | $50 | $200 |
| **Total** | **354** | | **$15,250** |

| D. DIDACTIC MATERIAL | Amount | Unit price | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Whole computer | 4 | $800 | $3,200 |
| Calculator | 12 | $20 | $240 |
| Ruler 18" | 6 | $7 | $42 |
| Ruler 36" | 6 | $25 | $150 |
| Ruler 48" | 6 | $18 | $108 |
| Ruler 60" | 6 | $22 | $132 |
| Ruler 72" | 6 | $28 | $168 |
| Regular compass | 12 | $4 | $48 |
| Square large | 6 | $22 | $132 |
| Square small | 6 | $18 | $108 |
| Tape measure | 12 | $2 | $24 |
| Hip curve 24" | 6 | $16 | $96 |
| Hip curve 18" | 6 | $15 | $90 |
| Hip curve 12" | 6 | $14 | $84 |
| Iron + Table | 4 | $600 | $2,400 |
| Scissors 6" | 12 | $15 | $180 |
| Scissors 8" | 6 | $20 | $120 |
| Scissors 10" | 6 | $26 | $156 |
| Scissors 12" | 6 | $32 | $192 |
| Pattern scissors | 6 | $39 | $234 |
| White paper for patterns (rolls) | 72 | $48 | $3,456 |
| Green paper for patterns (rolls) | 10 | $460 | $4,600 |
| Cleaning scissors (small) | 12 | $6 | $72 |
| Cutter for Information cards | 48 | $30 | $1,440 |
| Pattern cutter | 6 | $52 | $312 |
| Pattern notcher | 12 | $26 | $312 |
| **Total** | **300** | | **$18,096** |

| E. Other accessories | Amount | Unit price | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Regular sewing machine | 25 | $500 | $12,500 |
| Regular Merrow Machine | 5 | $1,200 | $6,000 |
| 3 thread Merrow Machine | 3 | $1,300 | $3,900 |
| 5 thread Merrow Machine | 3 | $1,300 | $3,900 |
| Double needle sewing machine | 3 | $1,200 | $3,600 |
| Button hole machine Reg | 2 | $3,000 | $6,000 |
| Elastic machine | 2 | $1,000 | $2,000 |
| Regular elastic machine | 2 | $1,250 | $2,500 |
| Hemming machine | 3 | $900 | $2,700 |
| Merrow Machine for delicate sewing | 3 | $2,200 | $6,600 |
| Special Buttonhole machine | 2 | $3,500 | $7,000 |
| Half body dress form size 4 | 3 | $400 | $1,200 |
| Half body dress form size 6 | 3 | $400 | $1,200 |
| Half body dress form size 8 | 3 | $400 | $1,200 |
| Sleeves for all shapes | 24 | $45 | $1,080 |
| Special attachment for machine | 42 | $16 | $672 |
| Special attachment for fine wheel | 18 | $16 | $288 |
| Magnet | 25 | $3 | $75 |
| Full body dress form 4, 6 and 8 | 9 | $550 | $4,950 |
| Full body dress form large size 16/18 | 2 | $600 | $1,200 |
| Full body dress form large size 20 | 2 | $600 | $1,200 |
| Full body children dress 3T, 6T, 8T, 12T | 10 | $450 | $4,500 |
| 25 kW Generator | 2 | $1,500 | $3,000 |
| 5 kW Inverter | 2 | $4,000 | $8,000 |
| Solar panel (pallets of 8) | 2 | $15,000 | $30,000 |
| Double cabin pick-up | 2 | $35,000 | $70,000 |
| **Total** | **202** | | **$185,265** |

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**From**: Peggy Siegal [[redacted]
**Sent**: 3/7/2013 2:03:11 PM
**To**: jeevacation@gmail.com
**Subject**: Fw: Oscar Diary

**Importance**: High

I am struggling thru this. It is so late already. I am so stressed out. Will finishe is in a day or two.. I can not write about the Katzenberg party. Maybe can just mention is happened in my hotel. But the reason to go was to support Katzenberg and network. More to come. Peg

----- Original Message -----
From: Peggy Siegal
Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2013 08:51 AM
To: Peggy Siegal
Subject: Oscar Diary

It's Thursday morning on Wilshire Boulevard and the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences has just opened it's doors for ticket pick-up for the 85th Oscar telecast.

Forty voting members, the distinguished director Norman Jewison and I are on a long single file line that snakes thru the lobby patiently waiting to go upstairs to pick up our tickets. My seats were awarded via a lottery system. We clutch our photo I.D.

Suddenly, a messenger slips in wearing a smart khaki windbreaker and cuts through the line. He announces to the uniformed guard in a stage whisper, "Dreamworks", and as if Steven Spielberg himself had just delivered the Gettysburg address, is ushered upstairs.
That is the final act of social justice of the "Lincoln" campaign.

I am sleep deprived and jet lagged having just spent six hours on a flight sitting next Paula Wagner who is Tom Cruise's ex-agent turned Broadway producer for Jessica Chastain's "The Heiress". We discuss Jessica's not so great chances to beat Jennifer Lawrence for Best Actress. I mention Harvey Weinstein's concern about Emmanuel Riva's last minute surge. The French phenomena doesn't speak English, has never been to L.A. and it's like voting for a ghost, even on her 86th birthday.

This is the year I got phone calls in September from top studio executives announcing each are winning the Oscar. Their euphoric giddiness is due to the quality of the films resulting in the priciest oscar campaigns on record and astounding audience support at the theaters.

Seven of the nine best picture nominees have taken in well over $100 million at the domestic box office to date, but it's the worldwide numbers in the millions that are staggering.

Twentieth Century Fox's "Life of Pi" caused a tsunami at $595,
Universal's "Les Miserables" scored $412, the Weinstein Cos.' "Django Unchained" whipped up $395, DreamWorks' "Lincoln" delivered at $254, Warner's "Argo" captured $219, Weinstein's "Silver Lining Playbook" danced to $187 and Sony's "Zero Dark Thirty" killed at $107 million.

In comparison, Sony Classics' "Amour" received $19 and Fox Searchlights' "Beast of the Southern Wild" worked up $19 million.

Hugh audiences having actually seen the films this year have an ear for the nuances of the Oscar race and everyone including Ben Affleck follow the bloggers religiously.

So by Thursday morning on line at the Academy the informed buzz was as follows: "Argo" takes best picture because is was most entertaining. The director snub to Ben Affleck was a Godsend as George Clooney's advice came from far away Berlin where he was in pre-production on "The Monuments Men". Warner's president Sue Kroll kept the campaign clean and calm on the home front.

"Lincoln's" victory is Daniel Day Lewis from day one of shooting, no pun intended. The suggestion that Obama is our answer to Lincoln was interesting. Voters knew Obama secretly hosted three screenings in the White House, but they weren't invited. The Hollywood Foreign press were the biggest winners with Bill Clinton's surprise appearance on their broadcast. DreamWorks' ran an impeccable patriotic campaign that the media ate up.

The best director race had the most drama. Hollywood dreaded Spielberg loosing to Ang Lee. (Eventually everyone was thrilled Steven was anointed president of the Cannes Jury for 2013 the day after the awards show.)

The voters knew beloved Ang Lee's three year boat ride was the technical miracle. Fox's $595 million international box office blew in the win.

Harvey Weinstein having three horses running is always the most talked about. His loquacious Quentin Tarentino was a lock for screenplay. Best supporting actor was a total toss up with a sentimental edge to Robert DeNiro. We even applauded Bob putting his handprints in cement in front of Grauman's Chinese Theater.

The conversations continued about how our government put the cabasch on "Zero Dark Thirty" with their arrogant denial of enhanced interrogation. Even MPAA President Chris Dodd could not help Mark Boal, Katherine Bigalow and Amy Pascal.

Additional chatter was the renewed last minute love for "Les Miserables". Clearly the most polarizing film in the race, this 27 year old theatrical musical seen by 60 million fans is now the talk of the Oscar weekend.

Hugh Jackman, Anne Hathaway, Russell Crowe, Amanda Segfried, Eddie Redmayne, Sasha Baron Cohen, Helena Bonham Carter and Samanthe Barks are making an historic one time live performance as part of Sunday's television broadcast. Producers Craig Zadan and Neil Meron's will attempt to razzel dazzel us with an homage to movie musicals for three plus hours at the Dolby theater.

Barbra Streisand, Adele and Shirley Basse's appearances also create high anxiety and a blood bath for tickets...hence the hysteria created by DreamWorks' messenger cutting the line.

After checking into the iconic Beverly Hills Hotel, my home away from home for 30 years of Oscar weekends and meticulously laying out all the ensembles sent from Valentino and Ralph Rucci, I hit the party circuit overdressed for life.

Daisy... I can do this...fairly easily now...but I have a lunch at 12:30pm and important meetings. I am so distraught about all this pressure. I am calling you now. Peggy

---

**From**: Darren Indyke [[redacted]]
**Sent**: 1/14/2015 11:43:26 PM
**To**: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
**Subject**: Bill Clinton pictured with Jeffrey Epstein's social fixer at Chelsea's wedding | Daily Mail Online
**Attachments**: WebPage.pdf; Untitled attachment 272040.htm

**Importance**: High

**Privileged - Redacted**

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http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2906981/Bill-Clinton-pictured-Jeffrey-Epstein-s-social-fixer-Chelsea-s-wedding.html

# EXCLUSIVE: Bill Clinton pictured with Jeffrey Epstein's social fixer at Chelsea's wedding AFTER severing links with disgraced pedophile

- **Ghislaine Maxwell is accused in court papers of procuring girls for her former boyfriend Jeffrey Epstein which she vehemently denies**
- **Bill Clinton had ties to Epstein, who flew the ex-president to Africa on his private jet before the allegations were made**
- **Epstein was arrested in 2006 and was sentenced to 18 months in jail in 2008, serving 13 months**
- **Clinton did not cut ties to Maxwell and she was a guest at Chelsea Clinton's wedding in 2010**
- **Rarely-pictured Jeffrey Epstein has kept a low profile and eschewed public events**
- **But he was pictured with ex-lover Ghislaine Maxwell on March 15, 2005 at a New York charity bash**
- **That same day, Palm Beach cops launched an investigation into Epstein and allegations of sexual offences with underage girls**

By Sara Nathan For Dailymail.com

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This is the society fixer alleged to have helped find underage girls for pedophile billionaire Jeffrey Epstein - helping Bill Clinton celebrate his daughter's marriage.

Ghislaine Maxwell was photographed at the former First Daughter's glittering July 2010 wedding to Marc Mezvinsky - despite Epstein having been convicted of soliciting underage girls.

Clinton had cut ties to Epstein after his arrest over allegations of sex with girls as young as 14.

But this photograph shows that he maintained close ties to Maxwell, who is accused in court papers of procuring underage girls for Epstein, her former boyfriend, as she smiles as President Clinton walks a beaming Chelsea down the aisle.

**SCROLL DOWN FOR VIDEO**

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**Friends in high places: Ghislaine Maxwell is a good friend of President Bill Clinton and can be seen on the right at his daughter Chelsea's wedding in July 2010**

Maxwell, now 50, attended the wedding in Rhinebeck, NY, on July 31, 2010, with the cream of

Washington D.C.

Described as feeling like a 'family wedding', guests included former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Terry McAuliffe, Governor of Virginia, and leading figure in the civil rights movement Vernon Jordan.

For Maxwell to remain a Clinton chum is an interesting turn of events.

Just two years earlier, her former lover and friend Jeffrey Epstein was sentenced to 18 months behind bars after pleading to a single state charge of soliciting prostitution. He served 13 months in prison.

President Clinton had been so close to both to Epstein he had joined him on his private jet and stayed on his private Caribbean island.

Speaking to the Mail On Sunday in 2011, Virginia Roberts - who claims in court papers she was kept as Epstein's 'sex slave' and forced to sleep with Prince Andrew three times - said she met President Clinton twice, but was never 'lent out'.

Buckingham Palace vehemently denies the claims, as does Maxwell. Her legal team stresses she was not involved in, or connected to the criminal proceedings against Epstein and with regards to Virginia Roberts' claims, they stressed she denies each and every allegation.

Virginia, now a married mother of three, claimed that President Clinton traveled with Epstein to a number of destinations, including three times on the billionaire's private jet, and enjoyed intimate dinners with both him and Maxwell.

On one occasion, she said that Epstein flew the former President, Hollywood actor and staunch Democrat Kevin Spacey and another actor friend of Mr Clinton's, Chris Tucker, to Africa, to 'discuss AIDS policy'.

Epstein, who has donated more than £75,000 over the years to candidates from the Democratic Party, also flew with President Clinton in November 2003 to destinations including Russia, Oslo, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Beijing.

On one occasion, she alleged, Epstein did invite two young brunettes to a dinner which he gave on his island for President Clinton shortly after he left office. But, as far as she knows, the ex-President did not take the bait.

Maxwell declines to comment on Prince Andrew allegations

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**Mysterious: Ghislaine Maxwell beams as her ex-lover, disgraced billionaire Jeffrey Epstein**

**hugs her as they attend a Manhattan bash on March 15, 2005 - the same day Palm Beach police launched an investigation into his abuse of underage girls**

‘I’d have been about 17 at the time,’ she said: ‘I flew to the Caribbean with Jeffrey and then Ghislaine Maxwell went to pick up Bill in a huge black helicopter that Jeffrey had bought her.

‘She’d always wanted to fly and Jeffrey paid for her to take lessons, and I remember she was very excited because she got her licence around the first year we met.

'I used to get frightened flying with her but Bill had the Secret Service with him and I remember him talking about what a good job she did.

‘I only ever met Bill twice but Jeffrey had told me that they were good friends.

'I asked, “How come?” and he laughed and said, “He owes me some favours.” Maybe he was just joking but it constantly surprised me that people with as much to lose as Bill and [Prince] Andrew weren’t more careful.'

She said that when dining that night, Maxwell sat at President Clinton's left, while they were joined by two 'olive-skinned brunettes' who had been flown in from New York.

Virginia claimed: 'I’d never met them before. I’d say they were no older than 17, very innocent-looking.

‘They weren’t there for me. They weren’t there for Jeffrey or Ghislaine because I was there to have sex with Jeffrey on the trip.

‘Maybe Jeffrey thought they would entertain Bill, but I saw no evidence that he was interested in them. He and Jeffrey and Ghislaine seemed to have a very good relationship. Bill was very funny

'He made me laugh a few times. And he and Jeffrey and Ghislaine told blokey jokes and the brunettes listened politely and giggled.

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**Star of the night: Rod Stewart and his wife Penny at the Cipriani Wall Street event, where he performed in front of a crowd including Ghislaine Maxwell and Jeffrey Epstein**

**New York elite: Padma Lakshmi (left) and Sean Lennon (right) both attended the Cipriani Wall Street event**

Indeed, the trio were so close that DailyMail.com told last week how Epstein kept 21 numbers for President Clinton in his contacts book, under the name of his adviser Doug Band.

As Virginia Roberts' astonishing claims have made headlines around the world, it was reported last week that President Clinton's continuing friendship with Maxwell has caused a rift between him and his wife, potential Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton.

However, the pair were pictured looking cosy together as they left the funeral of former New York Governor Mario Cuomo.

Epstein and Maxwell met shortly after she moved to New York in the 1990s following the death of her father, shamed newspaper tycoon Robert Maxwell.

And they remained just as close even after an initial romance faded.

For Epstein, Maxwell was a useful conduit to some of the most powerful people in the world, from PresidentClinton to Prince Andrew.

**Close: Not only was Ghislaine Maxwell friends with Prince Andrew, but his ex-wife Sarah Ferguson as well. The pair are pictured together at the opening of the Asprey Flagship Store on 5th Avenue on December 8, 2003, in New York City**

**Allegations: Ghislaine Maxwell is accused of 'facilitating Prince Andrew's acts of sexual abuse by acting as a madame for Epstein'. Above, Miss Maxwell looks on as Prince Andrew smiles with Virginia Roberts in 2001**

While Maxwell became used to the luxuries that Epstein could afford her, trips by private jet and his very own Caribbean island.

Rarely photographed or seen out in public unlike his friend Maxwell, Esptein was however pictured with the brunette as they partied the night away on March 15, 2005, at a Manhattan charity event featuring singer Rod Stewart.

But as they socialized with the cream of Manhattan society, including CBS President Les Moonves, his wife Julie Chen, Sean Lennon and Padma Lakshmi, at the Wall Street Rising event, Epstein, now 63, and Maxwell, would have been entirely unaware of a police probe that was launched that very day.

In May 2006, a 'probable cause affidavit' revealed that Epstein was the subject of an 11-month undercover investigation by police after a complaint in 2005 from the stepmother of a 14-year-old girl, who claimed she was paid $300 to give him an erotic massage at his flamingo-pink villa in Palm Beach.

**Close: Ghislaine Maxwell with Jeffrey Epstein (left) at The Queen's residence of**

**Sandringham in 2000. The picture shows just how close she and Epstein were with Prince Andrew**

The girl is said to have been taken there by 18-year-old student Haley Robson, who claims in a sworn statement that she was recruited at the age of 17 to provide the billionaire with a $200 nude massage.

One of the girls 'cried hysterically', according to a police report, as she recalled how she was recruited to provide services for Epstein when she was 16.

She claims in a sworn statement that he introduced her to a woman whom he said he had brought from Yugoslavia 'to be his sex slave'.

Epstein was convicted in 2008 of soliciting sex from a minor - a minor in the US is someone younger than 18 - and served 13 months in prison.

Now, lawyers for four of Epstein's alleged victims are fighting to get a federal non-prosecution agreement against Epstein thrown out so he can potentially face criminal charges for allegedly sexually abusing the women, one of whom says she was only 13 at the time of the assault.

Bizarrely, Maxwell was initially served with a subpoena in September 2009, as she was leaving the Clinton Global Initiatives Conference in New York.

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**Power people: Ghislaine Maxwell and newspaper billionaire Rupert Murdoch, pictured together in at the Fifth Important Dinner for Women hosted by Her Majesty Queen Rania Al Abdullah, Wendi Murdoch and Indra Nooyi in New York in September 2010**

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As for Maxwell, bizarrely, she was initially served with a subpoena in September 2009, as she was leaving the Clinton Global Initiatives Conference in New York, and continues to deny all allegations made against her.

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**Gossip girls: Ghislaine Maxwell (right) and Gossip Girl actress Kelly Rutherford at an event to celebrate Anna Netrebko's new album 'Verdi', in New York in September 2013**

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May 29, 2015

US DHS CIS
Vermont Service Center
30 Houghton Street
St. Albans, VT 05478

**Re: Ms. [redacted] Immigration Application**

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am writing this letter on behalf of Ms. [redacted] and in connection with her O-1 Visa Application.

My name is David Blaine and I am a magician. I have performed my own brand of close up magic all over the world, and have also set and broken several world records, including holding my breath for over 17 minutes, spending 35 hours atop a 100-foot pole, surviving only on water for 44 days, and enduring a week buried in a coffin. I have traveled internationally, performing magic privately for President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, President George W. Bush, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld at the Pentagon, Henry Kissinger, Bill Gates and Mayor Michael Bloomberg.

I met Ms [redacted] a few years ago through mutual friends and I was highly impressed with her. Aside from being an amazing fashion model, she has a strong passion for children and education. I realized what a talented public relations and fundraising expert she is when I saw her organizing numerous high end charitable events and organizations, as well as finding A-list funders for her causes.

A fundraiser and public relations expert of extraordinary ability can find, target, and approach the correct people for their cause, and then recruit them with the correct individual enticements. This is a very difficult thing to pull off, but Svetlana was able to do so, not only with efficiency and success, but with great ease and grace, and she seems determined to keep going. The success stories she drew for the children of the US Virgin Islands, the Ivory Coast, and many others are incredible. She truly makes a difference in the lives of the world's children.

That is a passion that we both share. Every year, I travel all across the country and the world to perform magic for children's hospital wards, burn units, and juvenile prisons and detention centers. I also truly enjoyed performing magic for Paul Newman and groups of children at the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, among other charitable causes.

I've been discussing with [redacted] how we can work together to raise money for children and education. Therefore, I wholeheartedly support her visa application.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any further questions or concerns.

Best Regards,

David Blaine

davidblaine

June 1, 2015

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St. Albans, VT 05478

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David Blaine

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